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THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., K.C.M.G.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER IN HIS STUDY AT "THE MOUNT,"

The Life a ers of the
Rt. Hon. Sir s Tupper,
Bart. G.

E. M. S D.D.

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THE RT. H N, K.C.M.G.

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The Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., K.C.M.G.

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With an Introduction by

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Eight Photogravure Plates

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THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.

CHAPTER I

THE ELECTIONS OF 1882—APPOINTMENT AS HIGH COMMISSIONER (1883)

PARLIAMENT opened on February 9, 1882. The Speech from the Throne, after an account of the progress made in constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway, contained the following:

"I am pleased to be able to state that the traffic on the Intercolonial Railway has largely increased, and that this line during the past fiscal year has been maintained and operated, for the first time in its history, without loss to the country."

On February 23 Sir S. L. Tilley made his Budget speech. Sir Richard Cartwright, the Liberal critic, was prepared for his task. The drift of sentiment for the past two years had specially qualified him for the duty of examining the financial policy of the Government. At Coburg, Mr. Blake had weakened on the fiscal policy of the Liberal party. But in criticising Sir Leonard Tilley's Budget speech, Sir Richard Cartwright made it plain that he was not prepared to support Mr. Blake. In him the National Policy would have a bitter and uncompromising opponent.

In his Budget speech Sir Leonard Tilley discussed all of the essential phases and many of the details of the

National Policy. In an address marked by calmness, searching analysis, clear comparisons, and a fearless and exhaustive use of data, he avoided everything that might be considered offensive to his opponents. His address was wholly destitute of even the semblance of irritation or anything that would call forth a word of rebuke or censure or retaliation from any member on the Opposition benches. Sir Richard Cartwright, however, began, continued and ended his reply in a style arrogant, dogmatic and contemptuous. His references to Sir Charles Tupper were no more complimentary than to the Minister of Finance. He closed one of his most bitter and choleric speeches with the following prediction :

"Now, sir, I do not mean to threaten, but most assuredly I do say—not perhaps to them, not perhaps to the men who support them, but to the people of Canada, who sent them here, and to whom they may shortly, perhaps very soon, have to appeal—I do say to them, that if they persevere in this course, if they persevere in trampling on our provincial rights, they may find that Confederation will fall to pieces almost as soon as it was created ; and if they persevere in particular in trampling on the plainest rights of the people of the North-West, then I warn them that so soon as that country begins to be filled up, so soon as settlement is crystallised there, so soon as the people begin to feel the pressure of the bonds they are imposing upon them, Canada will run very great risk of losing the North-West, just as Great Britain lost the United States a century ago, and no men will be more directly responsible for it than the two hon. gentlemen I see immediately before me."

After listening to Sir Richard, the House was not left in doubt as to what might be expected from Sir Charles. He moved the adjournment of the debate.

No one can fail to be interested in the temper and the matter of Sir Charles's speech on this occasion as recorded in "Hansard," or to recognise the difference in tone between it and the reply to Mr. Blake at Coburg. Mr. Blake had, as was his custom, respected his opponent, and was respected in turn by Sir Charles. The

contempt in which Sir Richard held his opponents merited the temper of the reply he received.

On April 17 Sir Charles moved the second reading of the Bill authorising the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through a pass other than that of Yellow Head.[1] On April 19 the Bill was read the second time, considered in Committee, and reported.

A decennial census having been taken, a Bill providing for the readjustment of representation required by the Constitution was passed. Duties on tea and coffee, on metals and other raw materials, were removed. An appropriation of $150,000 a year in bounties to fishermen was made. This was done in view of the $5,500,000 awarded by the arbitrators who met at Halifax to fix the amount due to Canada from the United States for the use of the fisheries, as arranged by the Washington Treaty. The law repealing the stamp duties on bills of exchange and promissory notes was also passed.

On May 17 the House was prorogued. In the Speech from the Throne it was announced that an early dissolution would afford the people an opportunity to express their opinion on the fiscal policy of the Government and to put into operation the readjustment of representation. The dissolution took place on May 18.

After the dissolution, Sir Charles went down to Cumberland, where he found the political situation most gratifying. As no one would consent to sacrifice himself as an opponent, he was elected by acclamation.

The local and Dominion elections of 1882 were held on the same day—June 20. Hiram Black and C. J. Townshend were the Conservative candidates for the local House. Sir Charles went extensively over the county, canvassing and speaking in their interests. They were both elected. Sir Charles then visited Halifax, where arrangements were made for him to speak in the Drill-

[1] The pass selected by Mr. Mackenzie.

shed, a building capable of seating the thousands who would rush to hear what was expected to be a grand campaign speech.

Only once before in the Dominion were the conditions such as they were at the Drill-shed in June, 1882. The feeling was tense, the purpose clear, deliberate and decided. Sir Charles knew his hearers thoroughly, their attainments, antecedents, prejudices and sympathies. His influence over the Conservative party had not only not waned, but had been cumulative from the day that he first opened his lips in the local Assembly until that evening in 1882. The speech was carefully prepared. It was delivered in his happiest style. The response of the large assembly was vehemently hearty.

Second only to the adoption of the National Policy and the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate was the importance of the reaffirmation by the people of their faith in these two fundamental issues at the election then close at hand. Vital indeed and essential to the future health, enlargement, stability and greatness of Canada was the right decision of the people about to be given.

Granting that both parties were in favour of a national highway between the two oceans, and differed only in the manner of its realisation, there still remained the fact that between them on the question of free trade and protected industries there was a great gulf fixed. On this difference the people had passed judgment in 1878; and now they were called upon either to rescind or confirm their verdict four years old. The fruits of the National Policy were in sight. Before their eyes there was a new brood of factories which had come into existence in various parts of the country. Employment for men was furnished to an extent unknown under a Free Trade *régime,* business was enlarging, the volume of trade was on the increase; indeed, on every hand were signs of contentment and prosperity. Nothing but political frenzy could have

impelled the people to reverse their judgment given four years earlier.

The speech at the Drill-shed was followed by a number of addresses at central points in various parts of the Province. This was in response to requests from candidates who felt that they needed Sir Charles's help in their respective counties. It, however, prevented him from going to Pictou, where an unhappy difference existed between Mr. Doull and Mr. Fraser—two rival Conservative candidates.

Sir Charles's son, Charles Hibbert Tupper, then twenty-seven years old and a practising barrister in Halifax, had gone to Antigonish and Cape Breton to speak in the interests of the Conservative party. He learned that the rival candidates in Pictou would consent to withdraw if he could be induced to run for that county. He then sent the following telegram to his father :

"Convention meeting on Tuesday at Pictou. Our party divided, but all wish me to run with McDougall. Doull and Fraser agree to this. Let me know at once if I shall accept. Answer on train to Port Mulgrave."

Charles Hibbert Tupper accepted the nomination, and was elected by a majority of 245, and continued to represent the county for twenty-two years. At the end of that time he declined further nomination, retired from public life, and devoted himself to his profession in British Columbia. For eight of the twenty-two years he was a Cabinet Minister. While in the Cabinet he was appointed by the Queen agent of the British Government in the international arbitration with the United States. For his services on this occasion he was created a Knight-Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

Out of the twenty-one members elected for Nova Scotia in 1882, fifteen were Liberal-Conservatives. The Government's majority in the whole Dominion was about seventy.

After the election, notwithstanding his firm constitution and great power of physical and mental endurance, Sir

Charles found that he had overtaxed himself. Others had laboured hard, but his labours had been more abundant and strenuous than all. When his loss of health became known, the letters of sympathy which he received were evidence that his extraordinary work had been seen and appreciated by his friends and fellow-workers.

R. DU LOUP,
August 6, 1882.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I am truly sorry to learn of your continued indisposition. You are quite right to consult Clark without delay. I have great confidence in him and feel pretty sure he will find out, as he did before, that your attack, though serious, is not dangerous. By all means take a rest for a couple of months in Ireland or elsewhere. It is very probable that Council will want you to attend to something in England. There is always something to do on the other side. . . .

I am enjoying myself here. The weather is charming and the air bracing. I work from 9 till 1.30 with my secretary, and loaf the rest of the day, but there is an interminable lot of work on my hands.

Perhaps I may take a run down to Rimouski to see you on your way to England.—Always most sincerely yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Acting on the advice of his friends, Sir Charles, accompanied by Lady Tupper, left for England in August, where he consulted Sir Andrew Clark, and was made glad by learning that his malady was simply overtaxation. He was assured that rest and change would bring back his normal health.

At the request of the Hon. Mr. Pope, Minister of Immigration, Sir Charles, with Mr. Colmer and Mr. Tuke, a philanthropist, visited several parts of Ireland.

While going through the poor-house at Mayo, he asked the doctor in charge who an intelligent-looking lad was who had particularly arrested his attention. The physician informed him that he was born in the house eighteen years before, and that his mother was still an inmate. Sir Charles was further informed that the young fellow was fairly well

educated, and was very anxious to leave the institution and try his fortune in the world.

Young Joyce was taken by Sir Charles to Canada and placed in the care of his farmer at Highland Hill, New Brunswick. One day, while walking through a winding cedar avenue which led from the house to the post road, he shocked the farmer by saying: "What a glorious place this would be to shoot landlords." He worked faithfully for a year, after which, wishing to study for the priesthood, he went to the United States.

On returning to Canada, Sir Charles went to Winnipeg via St. Paul's. After going to the end of the railway track, which place he named Morse (Lady Tupper's maiden name), he returned to Ottawa via Thunder Bay by steamer.

Parliament was opened on February 9, 1883. The following extract is from the Governor-General's speech:

"I am glad to be able to inform you that the progress of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been quite unprecedented. Traffic can now be carried on the main line from Thunder Bay to within fifty miles of the South Saskatchewan, a distance of over one thousand miles. It is confidently expected that the Rocky Mountains will be reached during the present year, and that within the same period substantial progress will be made on the Lake Superior section of the railway, and the track laid upon a large portion of the road now under construction in British Columbia.

"I have also pleasure in stating that traffic on the Intercolonial Railway is largely in excess of any former year, and that the balance in favour of the road shows a gratifying increase."

Charles Hibbert Tupper was selected to move the address in answer to the speech, and Mr. Wood, who had defeated Sir Albert Smith in Westmoreland, New Brunswick, to second it.

Mr. Blake, who followed them, in the course of his speech, said:

"I must congratulate the hon. gentlemen to whom we have just listened for the manner in which they have discharged the tasks assigned to them. The hon. member for Pictou (Mr. Tupper) will

allow me to say that I rejoice to welcome to this House a man young in years, but who gives promise of making his mark in the House and in the country at some future day. We may not agree, we do not agree in politics, we may not agree with the distinguished person whose name he bears, but it must, notwithstanding, be a matter of unfeigned interest to observe the conjunction of the two persons at one time, in the same chamber."

Sir John Macdonald, in following Mr. Blake, said:

"I can cordially coincide with him (Mr. Blake) in his opening remarks respecting the two gentlemen who moved and seconded the address. His exceedingly appropriate and well-deserved compliment to those two gentlemen must have met with the approbation and assent of every member of this House. It must be gratifying to both sides of the House to see such evidences of intellectual force brought so early into play at the beginning of this new Parliament, but while it must have been gratifying to the hon. gentlemen in an intellectual sense, it must have been, as you can well understand, especially gratifying to me when I see the son of my old colleague and friend, who has fought the battle side by side with me for twenty years, for our alliance commenced long before Confederation, to see the son of a colleague take at once a position in this House. I say it is exceedingly gratifying to my colleague and gratifying to the whole Conservative party."

Mr. Blake, who was seldom effusive, crossed the floor of the House, and said to Sir Charles in passing: "I am going to introduce myself to your son and tell him that since I entered public life I have never seen the duty he has just discharged performed with so much ability."

On Friday, May 2, Sir Charles, in the course of his annual statement on the Canadian Pacific Railway, said:

"It is not often that the promoters of a great and important measure are able, after an experience of two years, to say that all the most sanguine predictions that they ventured to offer in support of the measure have been already more than realised. Yet, sir, I am able to make that statement on the present occasion. The contract made with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the construction of that great work—a work so great that my hon. friend, the leader of the late Government (Mr. Mackenzie), stated on an important occasion that all the resources of the British Empire were not sufficient

to ensure its construction within ten years; a work so great as to have baffled the efforts that had been made by two Governments to give it any very great prominence—I say, sir, that the contract for that work required that it should be completed by the first day of July, 1891. We are enabled now to say that if the progress in the future is equal to the progress of the past, we may confidently accept the statement of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company that by the end of December, 1886, that road will be completed from end to end. And, sir, with the organisation they have effected, with the progress they have already made, with the preparation in hand for vigorously pushing the work to completion, they will not require to make any greater exertions to accomplish that pledge than they have required in the past, in order to push this great work to its present condition. That, sir, will be four and a half years before the time provided in the contract for the completion of the work. And those, sir, who have witnessed the great progress given to this country, the enormous impetus given to the advancement of this country, by the vigorous and rapid prosecution of the work up to the present time, will agree with me in the sentiment that to anticipate the date of completion by no less than four years and a half, will be to confer upon Canada the greatest possible boon and benefit. . . .

"Now, sir, the next point that is of importance in relation to this matter, is the mode in which the road has been constructed; and I may say, sir, that, on that point, I have evidence of a very high character, which, I think, will be accepted by the House. I have visited every portion of the line from Thunder Bay to Winnipeg; I have passed over the line from Winnipeg to a distance of 470 miles westward, which was constructed at the time I visited it last autumn. The chief engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway has, from time to time, visited the works, and has stated, on his own observation, and on that of competent engineers employed under him, that this work was being carried on in a very admirable manner. But, sir, I may venture to read to the House an unofficial letter written while I was on the other side of the Atlantic by Mr. Sandford Fleming, late Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway—a gentleman whose unbiassed opinion and judgment will, I believe, go very far in this House. Speaking of the mode in which the work is being constructed, Mr. Fleming says, under date of the 8th August, 1882:

> "'I was deeply interested in all that I saw, and the progress made in the Pacific Railway. I travelled twice over the whole

line from Fort William to the western end, about the 104th meridian, which, with the Pembina Branch, makes :

West of Winnipeg . . .	350
East of Selkirk . . .	410
Pembina Branch . . .	85
	845

Twice travelled over, making nearly 1,700 miles, on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

"'No one could have been more deeply interested than myself, and I am bound to say the progress and character of the work is far better than expected.

"'The men who compose the Syndicate are honestly carrying out their part of the contract; they have displayed wonderful energy and have been signally successful.

"'I congratulate the Government on the present state of affairs, and especially on Pacific Railway progress.

"'At Fort William I learned that the construction had practically commenced to Nipigon, and the shore of Lake Superior is covered with engineers to locate the line on the different sections to Pic River.

"'On the prairie the road bed is being raised, as it should be, three, four, and five feet above the prairie, with a view to working it in winter, and the present force is laying nearly 100 miles of track per month.'

"When I tell the House that, last autumn, with the road in an incomplete state, and with only very indifferent facilities for carrying traffic, Messrs. Manning, Macdonald and Co., the contractors for that portion of the road, were able to carry goods from Toronto to Winnipeg in six days, whereas it was not unusual to require six weeks with all the efforts that could be made over a continuous line of road from Toronto to Winnipeg, the importance and advantage to the country of having that line open, too, for traffic, will be so apparent as to require no further argument of mine to convince the House."

Parliament was prorogued on May 25. The Marquis of Lorne, just previous to prorogation, sent a very touching and appreciative answer to the address of the House of Commons on his retirement from Canada.

Sir Alexander T. Galt, having decided to retire as High

Appointment as High Commissioner

Commissioner for Canada, that position was offered to Sir Charles Tupper. As Sir John Macdonald was not willing to have him vacate his office of Minister of Railways and Canals or his seat in Parliament, he was charged with the duties of High Commissioner without salary. His appointment was made on May 30, 1883.

On the occasion of Sir Charles leaving Ottawa for England as High Commissioner, a banquet was tendered him, presided over by Sir John A. Macdonald. It was enthusiastic and of more than ordinary interest. As a token of honour, the entire Cabinet escorted Sir Charles to the railway station in a four-in-hand. Taking leave of the Government and capital with every demonstration of appreciation, he proceeded to Halifax, where Lady Tupper remained with their son, C. H. Tupper, who at the time resided at "Armdale." Sir Charles visited his constituency, and after going among the people in the western part of the county, he addressed a large meeting of electors at Amherst. Having learned there of the extreme illness of Lady Tupper, he returned to Halifax.

He was tendered another complimentary banquet at the Halifax Hotel. In his address on this occasion, he gave a *résumé* of his public life. An account of the banquet is found as an introduction to a pamphlet containing this speech. Readers of that pamphlet will find in the speech an example of Sir Charles Tupper's judgment, skill and ability in the construction of an exhaustive and comprehensive campaign speech.

CHAPTER II

SIR CHARLES AS HIGH COMMISSIONER (1883—84)

THE time of the Halifax banquet marked the end of one distinct period in Sir Charles's public life, and the beginning of another. Coincident with his undertaking the duties of High Commissioner, there would pass before his mind the tendencies and changes in Great Britain, of which he, as a Canadian statesman, already had a general knowledge. Power had been slipping from the hands of the few and had been passing over to the many. There had been disturbances in the masses of Britain's increasing population. The authority of the social, political and religious leaders had been growing less and less. Unmistakable indications of what is now common knowledge had at the time only begun to appear. In his public life as a Canadian statesman Sir Charles had seen this disintegration of traditional Conservatism. He had seen manhood suffrage in practice. In Canada the old had passed away. The fierce battle begun in 1838 had resulted in victory for the people. Sir Charles was well qualified, therefore, to observe and scrutinise the social and political movements of the Old Land. Where the privileged classes saw revolution, confusion and anarchy, he saw the march of justice and freedom in the political world.

The industrial and commercial classes had already won the long fought battle for their rights, and had entered into the enjoyment of wealth, culture and power. The landowners and titled class had accepted this as a finality. But right and liberty made further demands. Disraeli and Gladstone, the outstanding leaders of the two great parties,

had recognised and deferred to the forces setting in from the mass of the people in demands for enlarged franchise and greater power. Sir Charles looked with interest and profit on the movement of the multitude of servants and workers blindly feeling after their rights. To him it must have been immensely gratifying that in the colonies sound liberal principles had triumphed, while in Britain the reform was only in its initial stages. The enlargement of educational and political advantages had already borne good fruit. The people of the Old Land were now on their journey through the wilderness. In Canada they had reached their Canaan.

Sir Charles and Lady Tupper, accompanied by their son, C. H. Tupper, reached London on June 20. As Major Cameron, R.A., their son-in-law, was stationed at Sheerness, Lady Tupper went there to visit her daughter. On July 3 Sir Charles, as High Commissioner, was received by Lord Derby, Colonial Secretary, and on the 7th had a long interview with Sir Robert Herbert, permanent Under-Secretary of that office.

Sir Charles Tupper's special duties in England were to watch, defend and guide the interests of the Dominion. But while engaged in his special work, his active, penetrating and organising mind carefully studied new and world-wide political questions engaging the attention of the foremost statesmen of that day. Count Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II., a new French Republic, Bismarck and a new Germany, had come above the horizon, multiplying the already great and perplexing problems demanding solution.

At the time the High Commissioner arrived in London, Mr. Gladstone was feeling the reaction against his spectacular victory over Lord Beaconsfield in 1880. The protest against the policy of this Tory leader, in which all the opposing schools united, had been emphatic and apparently final; but three years was sufficient time for the minor differences existing among Mr. Gladstone's followers to assert themselves and threaten an early dis-

solution of the Liberal Cabinet. From a distance, as a hard worked Canadian statesman, Sir Charles had seen the changes and convulsions of both the Old and New World. But now his duties placed him at the storm centre. He had not resigned his seat in the House of Commons, nor his portfolio in the Cabinet; but it was impossible for him to exert, at so great a distance, the influence he had exerted when present as an active member of the Cabinet and the Commons. While it is true that his power could not be felt in these changed relations as it had been when he was on the ground, yet so dominating was his personality, and so great in the Cabinet, the Parliament and the country was the deference to his judgment, that it continued to have weight with the Government.

Although the victories achieved before he left London —the National Policy and the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway—had put at rest the two great questions over which the political parties had fought their heavy battles, yet enough remained in conducting the business of the country to tax the wisdom and strength of any Cabinet. The power and skill of the Opposition, led by master minds like that of Edward Blake, Richard Cartwright and Alexander Mackenzie, made demands for all the wisdom, tact and courage that might be found in the Government.

On arriving in London, one of Sir Charles's first duties was to respond at a dinner in Drapers' Hall to the toast, "The Colonies." On the following day, July 11, he was invited to meet Lord Dufferin at a banquet given to him at the Empire Club, where Sir Charles and the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie responded for the colonies. Sir Charles stated that both he and Mr. Mackenzie could unite in telling them that the Marquis of Dufferin had administered the Government of the Dominion through two unusually hard contests between political parties, during which time there had been two changes of Government; and that, on

leaving Canada, he had carried with him the esteem and confidence of all parties.

The High Commissioner had the Open Sesame to social life in Great Britain and on the Continent. In his new sphere, a life so stirring and active was, to Sir Charles, perfectly congenial and in accord with his fixed habits. Before the month closed he had visited the Royal Exhibition at York, having with him his son, C. H. Tupper, and Mr. Dyke, of Liverpool, who had special charge of continental emigration to Canada. He also went to the Continent via Harwich and interviewed the agents of the Allan line of steamers at Rotterdam, in the interests of emigration to Canada.

The exhibition of Canadian products and paintings at Amsterdam by the Intercolonial Railway was not overlooked on this continental tour. Passing through Cologne, Sir Charles sailed up the Rhine to Mayence, went by rail to Frankfurt, and after visiting Hamburg, returned to Frankfurt. On the 26th he arrived at Berlin. Although provided with letters of introduction to M. de Bunsen and Prince Bismarck from Lord Lorne, he failed to see them, as they were absent from the city.

Sir Charles called on Sir John Walsham, secretary to the Embassy, to whom Lord Granville had given him a letter of introduction. The Ambassador was not at home, but Sir Charles was placed in communication with Dr. Boguroski, with whom he discussed fully the question of German emigration to Canada. Dr. Abel, to whom Lord Lorne had given Sir Charles a letter of introduction, made valuable suggestions. However, nothing could overcome the hostility of the German Government to the emigration of their people.

The next day, after leaving a letter of introduction at the residence of the Crown Princess, given him by her sister, the Princess Louise, Sir Charles received the following telegram :

Sir Charles Tupper,

Hotel Rome Palais, July 28.

Crown Princess anxious to receive you at 3 p.m. Will send carriage Wild Park station 2.45.

Count Seckendorff.

He was accordingly met by the Count, and presented to the Crown Princess, with whom he had half an hour's conversation. The Crown Prince then joined them, and during a time of agreeable intercourse expressed great regret that Sir Charles was obliged to leave Berlin the next day.

On returning to Frankfurt, his son, Charles Hibbert, was taken ill, but they were able to proceed that night to Basle, where they were met by Dr. Otto Hahn, agent of the Department of Agriculture at Reutlingen. Sir Charles saw also at Basle, Mr. Hanswrith, from Switzerland, who was a delegate to Manitoba in 1881.

Having returned to Paris, Sir Charles went into the Senate and heard discussions in the Chamber of Deputies. He called at the Embassy, had an interview with Mr. Faber at the Canadian offices, and called on Baron Reinach, who invited him and his son to dine with him at Trouville.

On August 5, at Havre, Mr. C. H. Tupper was again taken very ill, but they continued their journey so as to reach Southampton on the morning of August 7. After returning from Sheerness to London with Lady Tupper, and breakfasting in company with Sir Leonard Tilley with the Alliance at Westminster Palace Hotel, Sir Charles called to see the Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office respecting a Frenchman who had moved to Canada without having performed the required military service, and was now in prison at Paris.

Sir Charles and Lady Tupper spent from Saturday to Monday at Highclere Castle as guests of Lord and Lady Carnarvon. This would revive the stormy days of 1866, 1867 and 1868, when Confederation taxed the skill of

statesmen at Ottawa, Halifax and London. Lord Carnarvon, as Colonial Secretary at the time, distinguished himself by his services to the young Dominion.

On August 18 Sir Charles met Admiral Noce at the launching of a cruiser for Australia. A week-end was spent in company with Lady Tupper at Mr. W. Cunard's, son of Sir Samuel Cunard, who originated the line of steamers from England to Halifax and Boston which still exists and bears the family name.

On August 27 three cargoes of cattle arrived from Quebec on board the steamships *Oregon, Nepigon* and *Auger Head,* and were stopped at Liverpool by the Inspector of the Privy Council as being infected. It was stated, in the first place, that the disease was splenic fever, and subsequently it was reported to be Texas fever. Having learned that the Privy Council had sent an officer from London who had corroborated the report of the inspector at Liverpool, and that the whole cargo of the *Nepigon* was ordered to be slaughtered on the spot, and knowing that Canada was within measurable distance of being scheduled, Sir Charles proceeded at once to Liverpool, armed with a letter from the Secretary of the Privy Council to Professor Duguid, the veterinary surgeon who had been sent from London, and who was there instructed to submit all the evidence for his inspection and furnish him with every facility to examine the case.

Under Sir Charles's direction, half a dozen animals were slaughtered in his presence, and he succeeded in demonstrating to Professor Duguid that they were entirely free from disease. The cargoes of the other two steamers were similarly inspected, and with the same result.

Sir Charles requested Professor Duguid to send an amended report at once to London, and having returned to London that night, he met the Secretary of the Privy Council early on the following morning, and after a discussion of the whole question with him and several veterinary authorities of the Privy Council, an order was

sent cancelling the previous one and freeing all three cargoes from any restrictions.

Mr. Peel, Secretary of the Privy Council, thanked Sir Charles warmly for the personal attention he had given to this important matter, and expressed himself as much gratified by the result.

Sir J. A. Macdonald wrote as follows concerning this matter :

OTTAWA,
September 24, 1883.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I congratulate you most heartily on your skilful and successful action in saving our live cattle trade. The Press has already got hold of it here, and I shall take an early opportunity of speaking of it publicly. No use hiding one's light under a bushel, eh ?

Pope tells me that Moore, the inspector, had done the same thing before. While you need not make any charges against him, you might take every opportunity of impressing on the minds of the higher officials the necessity of having, in every case of an order to slaughter by the inspector, a confirmatory examination by experts, as in the recent case. Canada *knows* that there is no pleuro-pneumonia or Texan fever within its bounds, and would feel deeply aggrieved if one of the most important branches of its trade were destroyed by the hasty action of a subordinate officer who had already been proved to have been mistaken.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

On September 4 Sir Charles and Lady Tupper went to Paris, where he discussed the matter of the imprisoned Frenchman, Grandorge, with Mr. Plunkett. The result was that Grandorge was released.

On returning to London, in compliance with a request to invite the British Association to hold its annual session of 1884 at Montreal, Sir Charles went to the meeting of that body held at Southport on September 20. On the 21st he delivered a lecture on Canada before the Economic section of the Association. On the motion of the President, Sir Charles received a cordial vote of thanks for his address.

Sir Charles met the Council and delivered the invitation

from Montreal, which was fully discussed and vigorously opposed by a number of the leading members. They contended that meeting outside of Great Britain would be the beginning of the end of the Association as a scientific society. Its meetings would degenerate into mere picnics. Principal Dawson, of McGill University, who was present, warmly supported the acceptance of the invitation. It was finally carried unanimously. When Sir Charles, subsequent to the holding of the meeting at Montreal, delivered a similar invitation to meet at Toronto, it was accepted enthusiastically, all declaring that the meeting at Montreal was one of the best they had ever held.

On the 27th Sir Charles was invited to meet the Council of the Fisheries Exhibition, held in the Prince of Wales's Rooms.

On October 1 Mr. C. M. Kennedy, C.B., the head of the Commercial Department of the Foreign Office, called upon Sir Charles with an invitation from the Derby Chamber of Commerce to attend their annual dinner. At the dinner Sir Charles discussed Canada's fiscal policy, a subject which the Opposition in the Dominion Commons had stated would be offensive to the Government of Great Britain, and regarded as legislation hostile to the Empire. On that occasion Sir Charles had the opportunity to present to this Chamber of Commerce facts and cogent reasoning to the effect that the fiscal policy of Canada was not only in the interests of the Dominion itself but would be promotive of Imperial interests as well.

An International Conference had been called to meet at Paris to consider the subject of protecting sumbarine cables. Sir Charles was appointed by Her Majesty's Government to represent Canada. Messrs. C. M. Kennedy, C.B., of the Foreign Office, A. F. Trevor, of the Board of Trade, and Patey, of the Post Office, were appointed to represent Great Britain, and Colonel Bateman Champain to represent India. On October 14 they all left London for Paris.

They took rooms at the Continental, and on the morning after their arrival, called upon Lord Lyons at the British Embassy. After discussing the subject of the conference, Lord Lyons said: "Well, gentlemen, I can congratulate you on having with you an accomplished physician, in case any of you should become ill, as in 1863, when at Quebec, Dr. Tupper and I met for the first time, I was taken ill on a trip we made together to the Saguenay, from which I soon recovered under his treatment."

Before the conference closed, Sir Charles attended Mrs. Kennedy for erysipelas of the face, Mrs. Trevor for bronchitis, Colonel Bateman Champain for inflammation of the liver, and Mr. Patey for pneumonia. The latter became so dangerously ill that Sir Charles called in the Hon. Dr. Herbert, a brother of Lord Carnarvon, in whose hands, aided by two good nurses, he left Mr. Patey when he was obliged to return to London. Mr. Patey, who had long been a martyr to asthma, recovered. His asthma was also cured.

The Convention was organised on the 15th. M. Cochery, Ministre des Postes et Télégraphiques, was elected President. About twenty-five Powers were represented. Sir Charles represented Canada as fully as the German Minister represented Germany. All were required to sign the proceedings and the final deliverances. The Convention sat daily, both morning and afternoon, until the 24th, when an agreement was reached.

After returning to London, Sir Charles sent the following letter to Sir John A. Macdonald, which gives an interesting account of the proceedings:

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S.W.,
October 31, 1883.

My dear Sir John,—I had a very interesting visit to Paris. The Conference opened on Tuesday, the 15th. The British delegation was composed of Mr. Kennedy, C.B., of the Foreign Office, Mr. Trevor, C.B., Board of Trade, and Mr. Patey, of the P.O. Department; British India, Col. Champain, Director of the Indo-European Tel., assisted

by Mr. Law, of the F.O., as Secretary ; Canada by myself, assisted by Col. Cameron, who acted as Secretary, and translated into French what I wished and read it to the Conference. In the same way Mr. Morton, the U.S. Ambassador, who does not speak French, said his colleague, the Secretary of the Legation, would speak for him. Colonel Cameron sat at my side and wrote down in English what each one said, and thus kept me conversant with the discussion. In fact, I was soon nearly able to follow the speakers.

Great Britain presented an additional article providing for bringing in the self-governing colonies. M. Cochery objected to making this an additional article, on the ground that the same provision would require to be made for the colonies of all the other Powers, and Mr. Kennedy assented. At the next meeting I took exception to this on the ground that there were no colonies in the same position except those specified by Great Britain, that the importance of bringing Canada into the Convention would be obvious to those who reflected that all the cables between Europe and America were landed on the shores of Newfoundland or Canada, and that they alone could enact the laws required to accomplish the objects of the Convention. The President, M. Cochery, said he would like to hear the views of the Minister of Les Pays Bas upon the question, as he had great experience in such matters. The Dutch Minister at once expressed his entire accord with my views, and the Conference reversed its previous decision, and adopted my proposal to make it an article of the Convention. No one was more pleased than Mr. Kennedy.

The principal difficulty occurred over a proposal of Great Britain, which involved the right of search, and which ended in a compromise, which you will see from the *procès-verbal* covers the case pretty well, also in regard to an article proposed by Great Britain to meet the case of war. Germany took strong ground in opposition, and refused to sign if it was adopted. The Conference, as you will see, decided by an overwhelming vote in favour of the English proposal, but in order to obtain unanimity that question is left for diplomatic arrangement between the Powers.

I may say to you that I feel some pride in the fact that Canada took her place in an International Conference and on an equal footing with all the other Powers, and I may add that nothing could exceed the kindness and courtesy with which I was treated by all present. I have sent to the Secretary of State a formal report with all the documents, and the original signatures to the protocol of the representatives of all the countries represented except Persia, whose Minister was too ill to sign. We kept Lord Lyons fully informed from day

to day of our proceedings, which lasted from Tuesday, October 15, until Friday, the 26th instant.

I have written Tilley fully upon the commercial question, and expect to be asked by Lord Lyons to return to Paris shortly to arrange a Treaty. If we can by taking off the duty on French wines get the most-favoured-nations treatment it will give us the benefit of any concessions to Great Britain and at once the benefit of the Conventional Tariff. I will, of course, ask the removal of the *surtaxe d'entrepôt*, but I do not expect to get that, nor is it of so much consequence if we have a direct line of steamers. There is a prospect of my being able to do something with Spain if the present Spanish Government stands.—Ever yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On one occasion, Sir Charles voted against his British colleagues, but when the question was reconsidered, by direction of the Foreign Office, they voted with him.

Social and official duties awaited Sir Charles in London —dining with Baden Powell, M.P., spending a week-end at the Manor House, Chislehurst, with Peter Redpath, dining with the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute at Trinity House, and with Mr. Lethbridge, where he met the Hon. W. H. Smith. He discussed with the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain a proposed shipping measure, and had dinner with Mr. and Mrs. Hall at Mayfair, the house in which Byron lived.

OTTAWA,
November 22, 1883.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—. . . I congratulate you on the result of the Cable Conference, and have sent for your official report to prepare a nice little editorial for the *Mail*.

Lord Lorne is a little brick and will, I think, do us a great deal of good. He writes me that there is little hope now of State aid to emigration. . . .

I note what you say about a French Treaty. Tilley will, doubtless, bring it before us.

You see we have come to the rescue of the C. P. R. The attempts to ruin that enterprise and bear the stock are most atrocious. Can you and Rose get us reliable evidence of the unfavourable action of the G. T. R.—Sir H. Tyler, Abbott and Co.? It would be of great

importance to have that evidence if absolutely necessary to use it next session. Armed with that, I could throw out a hint next session that would make Hickson tremble in his boots. Canada has power not only to see through its Government that her interests are not imperilled by the ambition or jealousy of any railway company, but has also a *locus standi* as a creditor. The G. T. R. owes her 3½ millions sterling with thirty years' interest which she, for the purpose of building up a Canadian railway for Canadian commerce, postponed to other claims. It has now become an American line with its terminus at Chicago and Portland. The Canadian local transport business has been made secondary to the through or foreign traffic, and Canada must legislate so as to put a stop to that or enforce its debt. A threat of that kind, judiciously used at the right time, would soon bring those people to their bearings.

George Stephen, for the first time, seemed depressed, notwithstanding his enormous pluck, but we have assured him of a thorough backing, and with a ten years' guarantee of three per cent., the stock ought to find ready sale at 70 or more in the English market. They are making good progress north of Lake Superior.

I am in pretty good health, but feel tired every night. Campbell's health decidedly bad, and his spirits worse.

I hope you will be home before Christmas.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

SIR C. TUPPER.

Sir Charles was presented to the Queen by Lord Lorne, and taken over Windsor Castle by Princess Louise. Immediately following this, on December 3, he went to Birmingham with Lord Lorne, where the Marquis delivered an address on Canada, for which he received a hearty vote of thanks, moved by Sir Charles. During the banquet on this occasion he received a cable from the Hon. J. H. Pope, acting Minister of Railways at Ottawa:

OTTAWA,

December 4, 1883.

TUPPER, LONDON,—Pacific in trouble. You should be here. . . Important for Pacific you sail next steamer.

POPE.

Sir Charles returned to London that night, and awoke next morning with a much inflamed throat. He sent for Dr. Stephens, who pronounced it gout, and gave him a

prescription which benefited him so that he was enabled to leave London for Liverpool at midnight on the 5th, and sail in the *Parisian* on the 6th. He reached Halifax on the 15th, and proceeded at once to Ottawa, where he found that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was *in extremis*. The influence of the Northern Pacific Railway in New York and the Grand Trunk Railway in London had closed the market against them, and they were unable to find means to meet their liabilities and go on with the construction of the road. Sir Charles, after a full discussion of their position, advised that Parliament should be asked to authorise a loan to the company of practically $30,000,000 at 4 per cent. for four years. Having received from the Canadian Pacific Railway Company a full statement of its affairs, he placed that statement in the hands of Mr. Schreiber, the Chief Engineer, and Mr. Miall, the Deputy-Minister of the Inland Revenue Department, an able accountant, who proceeded to the head office, where they examined the books of the company and verified the statement. This being done, Parliament was summoned to meet on January 17, and opened with a Speech from the Throne in which the great progress of the Canadian Pacific Railway works was set forth and the belief expressed that it was possible to secure the completion of the line in two years.

On February 1 Sir Charles submitted a resolution to the House of Commons authorising a loan to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company of $30,000,000 at 4 per cent. for four years. On February 5 he moved the resolution, the second reading of which was carried on the 21st by 136 to 63.

After a long discussion, in the course of which Sir Charles severely castigated Mr. Blake for his acrimonious opposition to the Canadian Pacific Railway and its resultant injury to the enterprise, the Bill was passed on February 28 by 122 to 58.

Sir Charles as High Commissioner

The following letters will throw some light on the foregoing:

MONTREAL,
January 5, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Just a line to say I am off to New York this p.m., but will be back here on Wednesday. After that day I will devote myself to giving you all the information you require that I am able to give for the 17th. . . . . We had a very good visit from my Dutch friends. They are greater believers than ever in the C. P. R., and they now know as much about it as I do. I am arranging with them to take all the loose, floating stock off the New York market. The demand in London for investment is steadily increasing.

The circular goes out to-night. I send you a copy.—Yours always,

GEO. STEPHEN.

MONTREAL,
January 9, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—One line to say I will go up on Friday morning provided with all the information you are likely to want for a full and clear understanding of the position of the C. P. R., and I will stay as long as you need.

I came up from New York this morning. The stock keeps steady there, but the demand for it comes from the other side entirely. The Yankees are beginning to realise what the C. P. R. means, and do not like it at all. Our $10 rate for emigrants from Montreal to Winnipeg has fairly upset all their calculations. They see we mean to settle up the country.

The one thing I am anxious about is lest something should be said in the House that our enemies could twist into a statement that the C. P. R. had exhausted its resources. My contention is that the resources of the Company are ample for all its purposes if these resources are only fairly dealt with. That the cash subsidy still to come, the land earned and to be earned, with the thirty-five million dollars unissued stock taken at something near their intrinsic value, are far more than any possible wants of the Company. This should be insisted on, and the result will be that the public will soon take up the stock.—Always yours,

GEO. STEPHEN.

140 Drummond Street,
Montreal,
January 24, 1884.

My dear Tupper,—I think of going to New York this p.m., and when there will make up my mind what advice to offer about investing in Manitoba stock.

Yesterday I sent you an interview of Beggs *in re* immigration efforts by the C. P. R., and now I send you an article from last night's *Star* bearing on the point of our personal relations to the C. P. R. Company. You see it is insinuated that we have been robbing the Company. Such scribblers do not know, and do not want to know, that we have had nothing beyond every other shareholder, and that so far from getting anything from the Company we have helped the Company to the full extent of our ability gratuitously and without advantage of any kind. It is not a little disappointing that we should be maligned and branded as scoundrels by the very people whose interests we have been supporting at enormous loss to ourselves individually. But so it is, and we must put up with it.

I have already informed Sir John and Pope that I am not at al sanguine of our ability to carry the Company through till the proposed relief comes. I will do my best, and if I fail it will be because I could not do otherwise. Had I supposed it would take to March 1 before help could reach us, I would not have made the attempt to carry on. While the Government and every individual member thereof have been all I could wish, there are some malignant fools in the country, and especially here, who think it would be a good thing, or who would at least be greatly gratified, if we had to take backwater and be obliged to raise money to finish the contract on ruinous terms. They stupidly think that to be compelled to do so would hurt us individually. They cannot believe that we have no interest in the Company except that of large shareholders and large creditors. As creditors of the Company I have no uneasiness. The property of the Company is good for its debts ten times over, if brought to the hammer and sold, although the *Globe* writes most damaging articles intended to do mischief—under such captions as the "*Failure* of the C. P. R."

I have just found out that I cannot leave for New York till tomorrow. I am regularly at my wits' end to know how we can work through till we can get relief.

The proposal to take power immediately to pay on progress estimates would not give us any money to go on with. Everything coming from the Government in payment for work done, goes to the

Bank of Montreal in payment of the $3,500,000 we owe the bank, and cannot be diverted to pay wages and supplies, etc. Having considered the whole question in every imaginable aspect, I can think of no better plan of providing for our immediate wants, than for the Government, when the resolutions are brought down next week, to take power to pay as the work progresses; and in addition to ask authority of Parliament to make *at once* an advance of $3,500,000 on account of the proposed loan. If this were paid over to the bank, we should have no difficulty in postponing the payment of the New York loans till the final passing of the Bill. In no other way that I can see, can we keep things going. There can be no risk in making this advance, the Company's property being, as before said, good for ten times all it owes, this included. But for that matter, you might hold the securities held by the bank specially for the advance which are first. The joint and several obligations of Smith, McIntyre, Angus and myself personally are $1,300,000 South Eastern bonds, over $1,000,000 land grant bonds, and, of course, the obligation of the Company with the above as collateral. I do wish you would think this over and see Sir John about it, as you can easily see that the proposal to help us by expediting the passing of the provision to pay on progress estimates would not effect the object. Nothing, so far as I can see, will do that but power to advance to the extent of $3,500,000 by February 8. If this cannot be obtained, it is not a bit of use my trying to carry on any longer.—Always yours,

GEO. STEPHEN.

CHAPTER III

MINISTER AND HIGH COMMISSIONER (1884—85)

THE relations between Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. A. G. Archibald had, at this time, been of a peculiar and interesting character. The latter, through the Anti-Confederation struggle, had dissolved his strong and lifelong connection with the Nova Scotia Liberal party, had fought side by side with Dr. Tupper until he saw Mr. Howe and the great majority of the old party abandon their campaign against the union of the Provinces and come into harmony with Dr. Tupper and the Liberal-Conservative party. Before going to England as High Commissioner, Sir Charles had promised Mr. Archibald the first vacancy that should occur in the Senate for Nova Scotia.

On February 22, 1884, a vacancy was made. This explains the following correspondence:

OTTAWA,
February 23, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR,—I duly received your letters written just before you left.

Of course you have heard of the death of Senator Bourinot. I have, as you well know, looked forward to your being offered the first vacancy in the Senate, but I regret to say that a demand has been made by our friends in Cape Breton to fill this vacancy by an appointment from that island.

Cape Breton has had three Senators since 1867. The removal of Senator Miller to Halifax and the death of Senator Bourinot leaves but one. The claims of Mr. McDonald to the consideration of the Government, are, as you are aware, of the strongest character, and combined with those of Cape Breton, I fear irresistible. Under these circumstances, I hope you will consent to waive your claims to this vacancy. In that case, Sir John has assured me that he will

ask Lord Lansdowne to apply at once to Her Majesty to confer the order of K.C.M.G. upon you.

If you will kindly cable me "All right," no time will be lost, and I will feel greatly relieved.

We have just carried my C. P. R. resolutions by the largest vote ever taken in Parliament. Hoping to get back to London in time to see you there.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. A. G. ARCHIBALD.

LONDON, *March* 3, 1884.

To TUPPER, Minister,
Ottawa.

ALL RIGHT.

ARCHIBALD.

HALIFAX,
February 28, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Your kind note of the 12th inst. reached me in due course, and I hasten to tender you my sincere thanks for it—not the less sincere that I had almost begun to fear that the ocean and occupations incident to your position beyond the water had driven me and my affairs out of your memory. I am very much pleased that it is not so, and the more pleased that I felt I could not write to you myself on any subject, lest it might be supposed to be an attempt to recall the matter to your memory. I have only to say now that I leave it entirely in your hands.

I dare say sometimes you regret not to be in the thick of the fight. You are very much needed at Ottawa. Your pluck and courage would be of immense service there this winter, and you have left behind you no such master, as yourself, of the question of Tariff and Finance.

You must use your comparative leisure to recruit for future fights.

With kind regards to Lady Tupper,—Believe me, My dear Sir Charles, Yours sincerely,

A. G. ARCHIBALD.

During the session of 1884, Sir Charles moved a resolution whereby the Dominion Government acquired the Eastern Extension Railway from New Glasgow to the Strait of Canso, and the rights of the Nova Scotia Government in the railway from Truro to New Glasgow. This was carried without division. He moved also a resolution

ratifying the agreement made by the Dominion Government to take over the graving dock at Esquimalt by paying the British Columbia Government for their expenditure thereon, and contributing $750,000 towards the construction of the Nanaimo Esquimalt Railway, the Dominion to receive from the British Columbia Government 3,500,000 acres of land in the Peace River district on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains.

In the course of a reply to Mr. Cameron's motion for a Committee to consider complaints of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, Sir Charles said:

"The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mackenzie) is aware that when we came into power in 1878 there was not a mile of the Canadian Pacific Railway proper that should run within twenty miles of Winnipeg; the hon, gentleman knows that he had located that road to run away across the Narrows of Lake Manitoba, and that he would leave the whole of that great, magnificent district of country lying south of Lake Manitoba thoroughly unprovided for, without any railway communication whatever. What was the result? The result was that when the change of Government took place, there was not only no North-West population, but there was comparatively no Manitoba population. The hon. gentleman knows that Winnipeg was in a state of complete despondency and depression; he knows that had the line not been changed by this Government, there would have been no such development of that great, magnificent and fertile region lying south of Lake Manitoba, and from that to the boundary, as that which has taken place under the policy of the Government and the administration of the affairs of that country by this Government. From the first hour that this Government came into power, the interests of the people of Winnipeg, the interests of the Province of Manitoba, the interests of the great North-West, have been cared for—cared for with an energy and a zeal such as no Government in the Old World could have shown in a greater degree for the promotion of any section of territory in the world; and the hon. gentleman knows it. He knows the magnificent results that followed; he knows that, not step by step merely, but by one giant bound, Winnipeg, from its dormant condition, from its condition of despondency, in which there was no life, no vitality, no progress, no prosperity, sprang, as if by magic, into a condition of affairs that would compare favourably with anything that has ever been witnessed, even on the continent of America,

in the way of development. . . . My hon. friend next refers to the Portage. What was the condition of Portage la Prairie? Portage la Prairie was one hundred miles away from the line where the hon. gentleman intended to construct his road, and what was the result? The result was, when we found the importance of touching the river at that point, and when we ran the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway down to it, Portage la Prairie sprang out of its condition of despondency in the same way, and from a comparatively insignificant village became a prosperous town, as if by magic. So along the whole settlement of the country. Why, I was amused when I heard the hon. gentleman talking about a great public meeting at Moose Jaw. How did that happen? I was at Moose Jaw two years ago, and there was not a house to be seen within the whole range of vision from the Canadian Pacific Railway to the horizon. Who created the great public meeting? How did it happen? How is it that in that great wild and unpeopled portion of the desert lying 400 or 500 miles away to the west of Winnipeg, unvisited by any but the wild animal or the Indian from one year's end to the other—how is it that that, as if by magic, is transformed into a place in which a great public meeting can be held? Why, it is the policy of this Government, who, in the face of all the opposition that the hon. gentlemen opposite could give them, carried through triumphantly and successfully that contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway; it is their policy that has pushed the iron horse so rapidly across that country, and has carried civilisation and development, and the creation of villages and towns, from one end of this North-West to the other. . . . I have spoken of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Let me refer to what we have done in the promotion of immigration into that country—the very life and soul of progress and prosperity in the North-West. . . . . What have we done? The Government which is arraigned here to-night with this vote of non-confidence, which is assailed because we have not answered these proposals from Manitoba, instead of having refused, instead of having turned a deaf ear to their claims, have given these 150,000 people, or a much smaller number than that, boundaries which extended their Province over a larger area than the great Province of Ontario; and yet we are to be charged with being negligent of our duties, because we do not at once yield to these demands."

Mr. Cameron's motion was defeated by 115 to 57.

On February 25 Mr. Blake moved a resolution declaring that Sir Charles Tupper, in accepting the appointment as

High Commissioner, had vacated his seat as a member of the House of Commons. Sir John A. Macdonald moved an amendment, that the question be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, which was carried by 122 to 57.

The Committee reported that the seat was not vacated, as the position had been accepted without salary, and the Independence of Parliament Act was amended to indemnify Sir Charles Tupper against any action.

Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Schreiber went to New York on April 23 and made a contract with Mr. Blackman for the railway from Oxford Junction to New Glasgow, as arranged with the Government after the close of the session. Sir Charles proceeded to Washington with the object of finding out, informally, if there was any prospect of reciprocity. He visited the Senate and House of Representatives, called at the British Embassy, exchanged visits with Goldwin Smith, was introduced to Sir Sackville West, British Ambassador, to Mr. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State, and on April 30 was presented to President Arthur by Mr. Brewster; but on the following day he returned to Ottawa and advised the Government that nothing could be done at that time in the matter of reciprocity with the United States.

On May 8 a banquet was given to Sir Charles at the Russell House, Ottawa, at which Sir John A. Macdonald presided.

Mr. Erastus Wiman sent the following telegram to Lady Tupper:

OTTAWA,
May 9, 1884.

To LADY TUPPER,
Fredericton.

At the banquet given to Sir Charles last night the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, especially when he made a most touching allusion to his wife in the following words: "But I am bound to the county of Cumberland by a still closer tie than that of birth or political support. Thirty-seven years ago I took a girl with the bloom of Cumberland

upon her cheeks to be my wife. Gentlemen, that bloom is on my heart now, for I am only doing justice to my own feelings if I say that if I have been enabled to render my country any service, I owe it in a large measure to the unvarying support, the wise counsel and judicious advice I have received from that estimable woman." At the conclusion of these words the whole audience rose to their feet, and with immense enthusiasm gave three cheers for Lady Tupper. All well this morning. Sir Charles leaves to-night. Compliments to you.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

Sir Charles sailed from Rimouski on May 24 in company with Lady Tupper and their son and daughter, Mr. and Mrs. J. Stewart Tupper. After his arrival in England, by request, he assisted Mr. Russell Lowell, the American Minister, in entertaining, at a banquet at the Hôtel Continental, the lacrosse team brought from the United States by Mr. Skink.

Immediately after this Sir Charles had a long interview with Lord Derby at the Colonial Office. On the evening of the same day he enjoyed an extended interview with the Premier at an "At Home" given by Mrs. Gladstone in Downing Street.

On June 17 Sir Charles and Lady Tupper took up their permanent residence at 97 Cromwell Road. He was obliged, on account of ill health, to decline an invitation to dine with the Canadian Club at the Albion Tavern.

The following letter explains a call Sir Charles had from Mr. Solomon and Mr. Uhlman on June 28:

OTTAWA,

June 4, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I cabled you that the Hon. Mr. Solomon of Jamaica would call upon you on the subject of Confederation with Canada. It cannot come to anything, but still we should hear what they have to say, as it is a high compliment to Canada to have such a desire to join her political system coming from other colonies.

Singular enough, through Sir F. Hincks, enquiries were made last week from Barbadoes as to whether we would take them in. Hincks agrees with me that it would not do. You should continue to let

Lord Derby and the Cabinet know all this. It will serve to show them our growing importance.

I suppose you will introduce Mr. Solomon to Tilley and Macpherson.

No news here. McLelan is in Nova Scotia making enquiries. I have just received a letter from Charlie, your son, saying the writ for Cumberland should not issue until the first instalment of the labourers' debts were paid by the short line people. That this sum, about $50,000, would shortly be paid. He anticipates a fierce struggle.

The crops are looking well, although a severe frost last week has done some damage.

With kind regards to Lady Tupper,—Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

SIR C. TUPPER.

The subjoined letters have historic value:

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
LONDON, S.W.,
July 8, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I duly received your letter of the 4th ultimo, and have since had a visit from Mr. Solomon and Mr. Uhlman, the chairman of the Jamaica Board here. I told them that Canada would warmly favour anything to promote the interests of Jamaica consistent with its own, that I saw many and serious obstacles in the way, all of which would receive careful consideration in case a formal proposal for union was made by Jamaica. I discussed the subject with Lord Derby who seemed much impressed by the fact that both Jamaica and Barbadoes were thinking of federation with Canada. I have also discussed upon Lord Derby's invitation the question of a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States. The Colonial Office is ready to aid us to the fullest extent in making any arrangements with the United States that we consider in our interest that does not discriminate against England.

The Shipping Bill having no chance of passing this session, and being now withdrawn, I did not consider it necessary to take any action thereon except to arrange with Mr. Ashley, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the presentation of petitions from the Chamber of Commerce of St. John, New Brunswick, against including Canadian shipping in the provisions of the Act.

I have seen Sir Robert Herbert and Sir Cunliffe Owen in reference to the exhibition of Colonial products of the Empire in 1886. I urged

the great importance of prompt action in order that due time might be given for preparation, and I am now able to say that a Royal Commission will issue very soon with Sir C. Owen as secretary, and official communications will soon thereafter be sent to Canada. India had already guaranteed £20,000 on condition that Sir C. Owen have the management. The guarantee is a purely nominal thing, as the only question will be the distribution of the large surplus that will remain. The Health Exhibition, which has no special attractions, is attended by double the numbers that crowded the Fisheries Exhibition, and it is determined to make the Colonial Exhibition eclipse them all. It would have a good effect if you were to send a cable to authorise me to say that you would apply to Parliament for authority to guarantee $10,000, and, as I said before, no risk would be involved.

I enclose a rough draft Bill of the Colonial Courts of Admiralty which has been given to me by Mr. Bramston in strict confidence. The only point not quite settled is giving up the forfeitures to the Colonies, but I have no doubt that it will be so decided. If you send me any suggestions I will deal with them at once.

I have discussed the Spanish questions with Sir R. Morier, the British Minister at Madrid, who is now here, at the Foreign Office in conjunction with Mr. Kennedy, and we have decided to have everything arranged with the Foreign Office, and that I shall go to Madrid about the middle of September. I am now preparing a communication to Lord Granville, which I will submit to Tilley when he returns from Edinburgh.

The loan under all the circumstances was an undoubted success. . . . The only point upon which Tilley and I did not agree was I would have made the term fifty years straight, but I dare say he was right to take the advice of the agents.

I have gone to the Colonial Office with Mr. Beeton, the agent of the British Columbia Government, introduced him to Sir R. Herbert, and asked the latter to furnish me with all possible information from the archives of that office or any other respecting the boundary between British Columbia and the North-West. I told him that our object was to arrive at the real intention of Parliament at the time the Acts were passed. On the map in Lord Derby's office I may say that the boundary is marked in a yellow line on the height of land the same as Trutch's.

For reasons with which you are familiar the emigration is not nearly so large as last year, but I am glad to find that our efforts on the Continent are bearing fruit, and that we are getting more Germans and Scandinavians than before, and as the great thing is to get a

nucleus of that kind I hope we may look forward to rapidly increasing numbers from the Continent.

Nothing could exceed the kindness of my reception here. Lord Derby and all the Government people with whom I come in contact are most kind and considerate. We have been invited to Lord Derby's, Mr. Gladstone's, the Marquis of Hartington's, Lord Carnarvon's and dined at Kensington Palace with the Princess. Lord Lorne quite devoted himself to us wherever we went, and makes us acquainted with everybody. We found our house in a forward state, and everything done in the best manner by Mr. Reynolds, and are now fairly settled. . . .

With kind regards to Lady Macdonald, and best wishes for your health and happiness,—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

97 CROMWELL ROAD,
July 15, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I wrote you at length a few days ago, and now add a few words to tell you that I was duly presented to the Prince of Wales, who held a Levée for the Queen on the 7th instant. On Wednesday, the 9th, I was called upon to respond to the toast of "The United Empire," proposed by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, at the banquet given to the Marquis of Normanby. I send you a very condensed and imperfect report of my speech which was cheered to the echo by 180 of the leading men here who were present, and many of whom complimented me warmly after dinner. I mention this to show how strong the colonial sentiment is becoming here. Sir M. Hicks-Beach came out in the most pronounced manner as to the absolute necessity of maintaining the colonial connection, and Lord Kimberley, if possible, outbid him in the same direction. I need not tell you that I did not dilate upon Lord Normanby's administration of public affairs in Nova Scotia. He expressed himself as very much gratified at my attending the banquet.

I sent you a cable to-night to tell you that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have already decided that the award is not binding, and McCarthy tells me that this has so upset Mowat's calculations and references that he is quite demoralised, and both McCarthy and C. Robinson are sanguine of victory. But you will no doubt hear all this much better from them. The C. P. R. has had a hard row here, but is steadily gaining in favour. As you see, I never lose a chance to enlighten the ignorant.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Minister and High Commissioner

At this early day Sir Charles Tupper was firmly convinced of the soundness of the principle that, in negotiations with foreign countries in matters in which Canada was directly concerned, she should have authoritative representation on any commission appointed by the Government of Great Britain to arrange national matters with other States.

Sir Charles took up this question, and after full discussion with the Colonial and Foreign Offices, Her Majesty's Government agreed that when Canada desired to negotiate with foreign countries in relation to commercial questions, full powers should be given to a Canadian plenipotentiary in conjunction with Her Majesty's Ambassador, who should use all his influence to accomplish the wishes of the Canadian Government.

When Canada desired to negotiate with Spain, Lord Granville, Foreign Secretary of State, sent a dispatch to the Colonial Office, saying :

" If the Spanish Government are favourably disposed, a full power for these negotiations will be given to Sir Robert Morier and Sir Charles Tupper jointly. The actual negotiations would probably be conducted by Sir Charles Tupper, but the convention, if concluded, must be signed by both plenipotentiaries, and be entered into between Her Majesty and the King of Spain, with the special object of regulating Canadian trade with the Spanish Territories specified in the convention."

In July of this year Sir Charles actively promoted schemes of emigration for women, addressing particularly an influential meeting at the Marchioness of Salisbury's, at which Princess Louise was present.

An event giving great joy to Sir Charles and Lady Tupper occurred on August 8 at 97 Cromwell Road—a son was born to Mr. J. Stewart Tupper and Mrs. Tupper, and was named Charles Stewart Tupper.

The following letters set forth important questions engaging Sir Charles's attention in 1884 :

MONTREAL,
August 13, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Thanks for your note of the 31st and for all you have done and are still doing to inspire confidence in the North-West and the Canadian Pacific Railway. You will doubtless see with what malicious venom the *Globe* is pursuing both the country and the company. . . . I am very glad to hear what you say about Skinner and the *Canadian Gazette*, and hope you will do all you can to conciliate the papers in England. I take it that is the only way either you or I can help it. Vanhorne is now on his way through the Rockies from British Columbia. He will be back by this day fortnight. When he comes I will get him to write to you fully. *No one* now doubts the sufficiency of the $27,700,000 to finish the contract. The profits of the line on both the Lake Superior and mountain sections would surprise you, as they have done Schreiber. The completion of the line for the money in hand and by the end of next year is now a matter of certainty, giving me no further concern. All my anxieties are now centred on making the road a success commercially from the day of its completion. If I fail in that, I shall feel it to be a reproach to myself personally, as well as to the Government whose policy I am carrying out. But I have *no* misgiving on this point if I am only able to put the Company in a position to do its work properly. I read the proceedings of your Federation of the Empire meeting and quite agree with you that the effect will be to increase the interest of the people at home in Canada, though I must add that I think we out here will have enough to do if we take good care of the Empire *here*, without attempting to extend our efforts to the management of affairs in England or in any other outlying parts of the Empire.—Always yours,

GEO. STEPHEN.

RIVIÈRE DU LOUP,
August 13, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 30th, and quite concur in the line you took at the meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

I don't believe that a practicable scheme can ever be worked out for a *legislative* Confederation of the Empire, but, as you say, it would have been highly impolitic in you to throw cold water on any attempt at a greater consolidation or drawing together of the different parts of the Empire. Your objection to the resolution as originally drafted was a good one, and I am glad to see that it was amended in the direction you desired.

I am resting here still and propose remaining until the first or second week of September.—Yours faithfully, JOHN A. MACDONALD.

SIR C. TUPPER.

OTTAWA,
September 24, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 11th anent Galt's Railway. Council are disposed to grant his applications, if contract entered into without delay, say by December next—and railway finished by July, 1886. On Friday next Council will come to a final conclusion, which I have no doubt will be favourable. The concession must, however, be subject to the approval of Parliament, which will doubtless be obtained.

Tilley brought up yesterday the Spanish negotiations, and he will write you fully on the subject. We think that, following the United States precedent, you should begin to negotiate for reciprocal trade between Canada and Cuba and Porto Rico.

Should Spain desire to discuss a wider reciprocity embracing Spain itself, or with Manilla, or with both, you should do so. As this would involve a reduction of the duty on Spanish wines, and thus interfere with a large source of our revenue, it must be carefully considered. With the full use of the cable, however, Tilley could be informed and advise with you step by step.

I attach but little importance to Mr. Solomon's proposal for a union with Jamaica. We heard him, however, in Council, and told him that we had formed no opinions on the subject but would be ready to consider it, and discuss it either by letter or with a Jamaican delegation, if the Imperial assent were first obtained.

You certainly have scored a great point in securing your being united with the British Ambassador, not only in the negotiation but the completion of the Treaty.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

SIR C. TUPPER.

On returning from a visit to Paris, Sir Charles went to the station to meet Sir John A. Macdonald, who had just arrived in England. Shortly after this, he had an interview with Lord Dufferin, in which he urged the claim of Sir John to some further mark of Imperial favour and that this would be a suitable time to recognise his services to both Canada and the Empire. He discussed the same subject with Sir Robert Herbert, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. This praiseworthy effort to secure additional honours for the

leader of the Government appears more fully in the following letters:

9 Victoria Chambers,
Westminster, S.W.,
November 3, 1884.

My dear Sir Robert,—Referring to the conversation I had the pleasure of having with you recently, I propose briefly to enumerate some of the reasons why I think the Imperial Government might properly mark its appreciation of the public services of Sir John A. Macdonald after forty years of unremitting toil devoted to the advancement of an important portion of Her Majesty's Dominions.

If to-day Canada presents the gratifying spectacle of a great and prosperous Confederation embracing all the British Provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific under one Government—developing with marvellous rapidity and bound together by a transcontinental line of railway, which within a year will complete the connection between Halifax and the Pacific Ocean with a population loyally devoted to Her Majesty and to British institutions, it is largely due to the policy which Sir John A. Macdonald has strictly maintained, whether in office or out of office during the forty years of his public life.

The people of Canada have marked their appreciation of his services at the general elections of 1878 and 1882 by giving his Administration on both occasions majorities of over seventy in a House of Commons of two hundred and ten members—and I am speaking as the representative of Canada now, unconnected with political parties, when I say that any mark of Royal favour bestowed upon a public servant so eminent, will be regarded with just pride and satisfaction by the great mass of inhabitants.

Intimately acquainted as you are with the history of Canada, and with the services rendered by Sir John A. Macdonald, not only to that country but to the Empire of which we form a part, it will be unnecessary for me to enter into further details, and I will conclude by asking you to submit this letter to the Earl of Derby, upon whom I will be glad to wait when most convenient to His Lordship.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

Charles Tupper.

Sir Robert Herbert.

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S.W.,
November 3, 1884.

My dear Lord Lorne,—No doubt you are aware of the fact that there is a very strong feeling existing in Canada and shared by a great

majority of the people, that the Imperial Government might properly bestow some mark of Her Majesty's approval upon Sir John A. Macdonald after forty years of public life.

Holding that opinion very strongly in common with my countrymen, I have, without the knowledge of Sir John, brought the matter under the notice of Lord Dufferin and Sir Robert Herbert, both of whom expressed their concurrence very warmly. Lord Dufferin told me he would place his view upon the subject fully before Sir Robert Herbert, and the latter suggested that Lord Dufferin might greatly promote this matter by speaking to Mr. Gladstone.

I regret that Your Lordship has been absent, as had you been here, I would have addressed myself first to you, and I now write to ask your good offices, well knowing how fully you appreciate the great services Sir John Macdonald has rendered to his country—alike to Canada and to the Empire during that forty years, and feeling assured that Your Lordship will use your high position and great influence willingly for a purpose so worthy of your efforts.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

November 4, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I am delighted to hear that a move is being made in the direction you indicate. I shall do my best to get Mr. Gladstone to see matters in the way we see them.—Believe me, Yours truly,

LORNE.

31 DOVER STREET, W.,
November 6, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have done what you wished, and I need not say that the doing of it gave me great satisfaction. I thought on the whole the idea was very well received.—Yours sincerely,

DUFFERIN.

November 21, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,— . . . I told Lord Derby that you would be glad to see him on the subject of Sir John Macdonald's receiving some recognition, and he was proposing to do so, but the matter went forward so rapidly that the G.C.B. was conferred sooner than we expected.

I am much pleased, as it seems to be the right thing; and it is well that you moved in the matter at a convenient moment.—Yours truly,

ROBERT G. HERBERT.

BATTS,
Monday, November 17, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—On Saturday afternoon I received a note from Mr. Gladstone stating that, in acknowledgment of my long and distinguished services, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to authorise him to offer me the Grand Cross of the Bath.

This I, of course, accepted. Would you send cables to the *Mail* and Montreal *Gazette* saying that Gladstone had recommended me? This won't suit the Grits.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

On November 26 Sir Charles presided at a banquet given by the St. George's Club to Sir John A. Macdonald. In speaking of the long period during which Sir John had led the Liberal-Conservative party in Canada, Sir Charles said, in case his hearers might not understand what the term implied, he would inform them that the Liberal-Conservative party in Canada embodied all the virtues of both the great parties in England.

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
LONDON,
December 11, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I was glad to see you had arrived safely, and hope that you have derived as much benefit from your visit here as I am sure Canada has.

Sir Robert Herbert told me that the Prince of Wales expressed great regret to him that he was not able to attend your banquet, and Lord Lorne said that no one except a foreign potentate had ever had such a reception here.

I am looking anxiously as to your action in regard to the Exhibition of 1886. It must be made a great success, and to that end the most prompt and energetic action must be taken forthwith. I presume you will publish the Prince of Wales's letter *in extenso* in the *Gazette*, and organise a central committee with sub-committees in each Province to push the preparations.

If you agree with me in the opinion that the time has come when there should be an Indian and Colonial Museum here, or rather a Colonial as well as an Indian Museum, it will be well to keep that in mind from the outset, as the articles can be purchased for exhibition on better terms than afterwards. It will be advisable to decide without delay upon what we wish to exhibit, and then adopt the best

means of procuring the articles. I can obtain the Canadian cases now at South Kensington which are made of Canadian woods, and which will save a great deal of expense.

All the Antwerp Exhibition exhibits will also be available for 1886, and this should be borne in mind in the preparation for Antwerp. —In haste, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On December 19 a 5 per cent. Canadian loan of five millions was made for fifty years, with the right to pay it off at the end of twenty-five years by giving six months' notice; but if it was not desirable to pay it just then, the notice could be given at a later period without any question being raised as to its legality. Sir Charles requested Messrs. Bombas and Bischoff to take the opinion of Messrs. Davy and Herschell on that point. Sir Charles attended, with the solicitor, at Lincoln's Inn to hear their opinion. They both unhesitatingly gave the opinion that the six months' notice could be given at any time. Sir Charles then took a copy of the debenture from his pocket, and said: "Sir Farrer, has your attention been drawn to that clause in the bond?" The reply was: "No, I never saw that; and I have no hesitation in saying that a question could be raised." Sir Horace Davy said: "But you do not think that would be law?" "No," said Sir Farrer; "but the question Sir Charles put to us was, whether a point could be raised as to its legality, and I say it could be raised, and a judge might be found who would decide against the Government."

The opinion, for which they were paid £60, was reversed, and Canada gave the notice.

Sir Charles was always alive to the responsibility of watching and protecting the interests of Canada. At this early day the British Cabinet had not been fully and permanently seized with the rights and importance of the New Dominion. A man better fitted than Sir Charles to impress these statesmen with a sense of their duty to this dependency could not have been found. He followed the policy of the late Joseph Howe, who always claimed just and honourable

treatment from the Government and Parliament of Great Britain for her North American Colonies.

OTTAWA,
December 24, 1884.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I telegraphed you yesterday to watch closely the negotiations between England and the United States in British West India matters, and I got Lord Lansdowne to telegraph confidentially to Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice suggesting that you should be consulted with reference to that matter. The reason I did so is that the Governor-General confidentially told me that the negotiations had made considerable progress under Mr. West. I had his permission to mention it to Tilley, and only to him. If the arrangements proposed by the United States are carried out, it cuts Canada off from the West India trade. I, however, told Lord Lansdowne that you had received distinct assurances both from the Colonial and Foreign Offices that no preference would be given to the British West Indies as against Canada. . . .

Parliament meets on the 29th of January. I fear I shall miss you very much during the course of the session. However, it can't be helped.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The character of Sir Charles's speech at a London Chamber of Commerce dinner may be gathered from a letter to Sir John A. Macdonald:

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
LONDON, S.W.,
February 24, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I enclose some notices from the Press here of the Colonial offers of assistance. I gave the *Standard* the best summary I could of the answer sent me by Lord Derby. I enclose a note received from a gentleman who was present at the dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce, where I told you I intended to make a point for Canada. I never saw such a sensation produced by an after-dinner speech. The applause was continuous and tremendous as I pointed out the importance of the Colonies to the Mother Country, their magnitude, trade and development, the construction by Canada of a highway to India, our provision for defence and readiness to make common cause with the Empire. At the conclusion of my speech, Sir R. Morier left his seat, and rushed to seize me by the hand, and for several minutes the applause of the crowded chamber was vociferous.

As soon as dinner was over the Governor of the Bank of England and many others came and introduced themselves to me. This is not mere egotism. I think it is right you should know the feeling here towards Canada.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Another crisis in the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway revealed the condition of the Canadian Cabinet, and offered another opportunity for Sir Charles to assure Sir John that he still cherished the same self-sacrificing spirit which had influenced him throughout his career.

OTTAWA,
January 24, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,— . . . Geo. Stephen says the C. P. R. must go down unless sustained. In Council, Campbell, McLelan and Bowell opposed to relief. McLelan has given notice of resignation. Tom White writes it cannot be carried, and the Press, already alarmed, beginning to sound the tocsin. I myself fear that the *Week* is right when it says that however docile our majority, we dare not ask for another loan. The thing is hung up until next week. How it will end, I don't know.

I received your cable yesterday and answered it about a Spanish Treaty. I don't think that where a Reciprocity Treaty is made between two nations, a third nation, having a treaty containing the favoured nation clause with one of the two others, can claim the same privileges as if it were partly in the Reciprocity Treaty. The contrary doctrine is now much discussed in the American papers and is used as an argument against the ratifying of the several treaties before Congress. It would never do to allow any nation having a favoured-nation arrangement with England to enjoy the privileges we might give for a reciprocal consideration to France, Spain or the Spanish Antilles. This point should be finally settled if possible.

Parliament opens here on Thursday next, 29th. I am sorry to say Tilley is not well and Campbell not over well. He, Campbell, says he is to retire next summer.—Always yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
LONDON, S.W.,
February 24, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have been greatly concerned by your letter of the 24th ultimo, as to the position of the C. P. R. and the attitude

of some of your colleagues and for the first time regret that I left Parliament. I like the position here very much, it suits me, my health is much better, and I am vain enough to believe that I am fairly well qualified for the position, and able to do important work for Canada, but I look upon the success of the C. P. R. as so vital to the progress and greatness of Canada that I have no hesitation in placing myself unreservedly in your hands. I cannot believe that McLelan will resign, but I would not hesitate to take his place and carry Nova Scotia for the policy of placing the C. P. R. in a position to operate successfully the road and under existing subsidies extend it to St. John, Halifax and Louisburg. Or, if McLelan will stand by the interests of the whole Dominion (as I considered the C. P. R. inseparably bound up with them) I will, if needed, go back to Parliament as a private member and sustain you all to the best of my ability. If you let the C. P. R. go down you will sacrifice both the country and the party, and throw all back again for ten years. I do not believe that either Parliament or the country will consent to this.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

OTTAWA,
February 27, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I send you a note from Col. Vance Graveley. There is no use in asking Gladstone to do anything for the C. P. R., but it has occurred to me that you might rub this railway route as a military highway into the public men whenever you have a chance.

The session creeps slowly on, but the strain has not yet come. I shall feel the want of you sadly next month. Pope and Tilley are both broken down in health. The rest are of little assistance. Chapleau will, I think, be a strength by and by. He is working well in harness. I find, however, that I cannot be absent for an hour without some blunder taking place. We want new blood sadly.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

MONTREAL,
March 11, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Many thanks for your letter of February 24 with its enclosures. I came down from Ottawa this morning and found your letter awaiting me, but I heard as a dead secret before leaving Ottawa, that you had written Sir John pluckily offering to come out at once and help your old friends. Your letter evidently touched their hearts. At this moment we have had no proposal

officially before the Government, and Sir John is quite correct when he answers Blake that we have not, so far, applied for any assistance. But they have the whole case in their hands, though not in official shape, not signed, etc. . . . I send you herewith a copy which please keep to yourself for the present. You can see how much easier this is for the Government than any former proposal for a guaranteed bond. This one is simply a project for practically paying the Government back the loan of last session and getting back to the Company control of its own resources, and will be taken by the House with great satisfaction. . . .

I am going up to Ottawa to-morrow and will tell Pope of your letters. The old man misses you terribly. He says now you are gone he cannot get anything done. I think you will have to come back sooner or later, perhaps sooner than later. I will write again soon.—Always,

GEO. STEPHEN.

OTTAWA,
March 17, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I wrote you last week about our sending troops. If there is war with Russia, we shall want our men at home. We can easily send one of the artillery batteries and a corps of infantry via the C. P. R. to Vancouver. There will be only marching enough to put the men in good trim.

The session drags slowly along. The C. P. R. will make its appeal for relief this week. I don't know how Council or Parliament will take it. Stephen asks a loan for a year of five millions—that Tilley can't face—that we should take fifteen millions of Railway Bonds 5 per cent. at par and 7½ millions of acres at $2.00 per acre. Council will not agree to give more than $1.00 an acre, I think. But our difficulties are immense. The Quebec M.P.'s have the line to Quebec up again. The Maritimes are clamorous for the short line, and we have blackmailing all round. How it will end God knows, but I wish I were well out of it. Tilley's Budget speech was very good, and he has been better in health ever since his delivery of it. Macpherson's diabetes on again, and altogether things are out of joint. The Council is too old.

Thanks for your disinterested offer to come out. As you couldn't get a seat for this session, the sacrifice would be useless, or I would be tempted to accept it.

Charlie made a very good Budget speech.—In haste, Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

MONTREAL,
April 30, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,— . . . I have been in New York for a couple of days, getting home this morning. I hear our matters come up in caucus to-day and possibly the resolution may be brought down to-morrow, but I don't know. Had you been here, all our affairs would have been disposed of a month ago. Sir John seems to have no one to help him with anything. The consequence is that everything "drifts." I never supposed it possible that our matters would be put off to this time. The delay has done us irreparable harm. So far as I can see nothing has been gained by it, even politically. One result of this procrastination has been to fairly weary me out personally. I have been almost living at Ottawa since the 10th December last trying, but apparently in vain, to impress Sir John with the extreme urgency of our case. I know and believe he has the best possible intentions, but it seems as if it were impossible for him to act until the last moment arrives. The struggle to keep the company from a collapse has been terrible and the damage to the credit of the company very great. All, so far as I can see, for no purpose. I have told Sir John that I feel chagrined and mortified to find all my efforts for the C. P. R. and to make it a success, should have met with so little appreciation on the part of the Government. I did expect in view of all I have done, that I would have had the confidence of active support of the Government. Sometimes it looks now as if the collapse of the company were a matter of no consequence to the Government, and I feel disappointed in consequence, because I think I had a right to a more considerate treatment. Meantime, may I tell you that my confidence in the success of the C. P. R. is greater to-day than it has ever been. Every day serves to demonstrate its thorough soundness commercially. Its money-earning power I regard as beyond doubt, but it takes time to make that clear to outsiders. The company must, at any cost, get "divorced" from all connection with the Government. No company can exist and be successful under such conditions as we are struggling with now. I hope by the time this reaches you my agony will be over.—Meantime, I remain, Yours always,

GEO. STEPHEN.

On January 29, 1885, Sir Charles had an interview with Count d'Outremont at Brussels and with the Exhibition Committee. He called also on the British Consul and President of the Committee and the Exhibition archi-

tect, when the location for the Canadian exhibit at Antwerp was decided upon. On his way back to London, Sir Charles attended a meeting of the McCaul Mission in Paris with Miss Agnes Johnstone, a daughter of his friend the late Judge J. W. Johnstone.

The following correspondence relates to the Soudan Campaign and the question of Colonial assistance therein :

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S.W.,
February 18, 1885.

My dear Sir John,—I have kept you advised by cable of the Australasian offers made to the Government of aid in the Soudan. I would have been glad if Canada had taken the matter up a little more warmly, as I think it was a good opportunity of making a good impression upon the public mind here. As it is, we stand very well. I wish you had kept me a little better informed as to the views of the Government, as I ought not to be dependent upon the Colonial Office for such information. I am to respond at the banquet of the Chamber of Commerce to-morrow night, and will try to make a point.

Sir R. Herbert told me last night that all the force that could be utilised at present was provided, but that the Canadian contingent might be required later. I expect an official statement from the Colonial Office to-day. I think it would be well if you could make the offer to pay the men while on service, and you might send the permanent force, who would be thus rendered more efficient. Forster has just been in to see me about it. He says it would be easy to turn out the Government if the Conservatives had a man who had the confidence of the country. As it is I am satisfied that the Government will have to make a very explicit statement as to the control of the Soudan.—Yours faithfully,

Charles Tupper.

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S.W.,
February 27, 1885.

My dear Sir John,—I have cabled you to-day a despatch from Lord Derby, asking me to meet the Under Secretary for War with the Agents-General to discuss what aid we could give, and the terms, etc., and I have sent a cypher cable to you urging the importance of Canada sending her trained force, and continuing to pay the officers

and men. The cost would not be much, and Canada cannot, in my judgment, afford to do less after what New South Wales has done. It will be repaid to the country in many ways, and carry out the expectations raised by your speeches here. I have been very careful in this matter and defended the Government here from the attack made upon them by Forster for not at once accepting all the offers from the Colonies. The importance given to the Colonies by this movement is immense, and I do not wish to see any reaction in regard to Canada. I enclose a notice of my speeches at the dinners of the London and Associated Chambers of Commerce on the 19th and 25th instant, from which you will see the enthusiasm here respecting the Colonies.

Hoping to have a prompt and favourable answer respecting Canadian contingent,—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

KENSINGTON PALACE,
February 27, 1885.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I hear that you and the representatives of Australia are to have a talk with Lord Hartington in regard to offers of military assistance.

As it is evident that several offers have been made by individuals in the different Canadian Provinces, and that it would probably be invidious to make a selection, might I suggest that some such arrangement might be proposed as that which gave Lord Wolseley a composite corps of a Guards Camel Corps—that is, that volunteers might be taken from regiments in each Province, to be welded into one corps in Egypt ?

This plan is one which, if followed, would not bear hardly upon any one district or regiment in Canada, while many individuals would be satisfied by it, and several Provinces would feel they were represented. Many thanks for your note of to-day's date.—Believe me, Yours truly,

THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER. LORNE.

In 1885 Riel entered again upon his rebellious career. General Middleton led the military expedition which suppressed the rebellion. The end of the Riel tragedy was the execution of its leader at Regina. The following letters refer to the last act in this drama which gave the Government much trouble, at times threatening its overthrow.

Minister and High Commissioner

OTTAWA,
April 1, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I received yours with enclosure, which has already been used in the *Gazette*, and which I will, when the occasion comes up, use in Parliament. Things are in a terrible condition in the North-West, and it is difficult to overestimate the damage that will result. It is such a vast country that it is impossible to see where the trouble may end. Of course it will be put down, but the cost in life and treasure will be very great. It has evoked a thoroughly patriotic sentiment in the country, which has for a moment paralysed the Opposition in Parliament, although Blake asks daily the usual absurd questions, evidently for information upon which to base an attack upon the Government later on. Eight of our members, Conservatives, have volunteered for active service, and are on their way or preparing to go to the seat of war; and the Opposition have shown their real character by refusing to pair with them. Even Blake himself, when appealed to by Dr. Orton, declined to interfere. . . .

The session drags its weary length along, and it looks as if we would be here until June. We sadly miss you, especially in railway matters. Pope has done wonderfully well, but with all his great practical ability, he is not up to the mark in discussion, and Blake knowing it, is unvaryingly insulting. In fact he becomes more evident every day; but there will probably be some lively work before the session is over. . . . Yesterday he hurled a deliberate insult across the House at Costigan, without provocation, and the result was magnificent. Costigan simply combed him down amid the breathless attention of the House, and his reply was so weak that he resumed his seat amid the solemn silence of his own friends.

I enclose you copies of some speeches of my own; in all of them you will see that I had a bout with Blake.—Yours truly,

THOS. WHITE.

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
LONDON, S.W.,
April 2, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I duly received your notes of February 27, March 4 and 12. I concur in much that you say respecting the Soudan matter, but without committing ourselves to anything, the matter took such a turn as to give Canada all the credit she was entitled to and a little more. My idea was this, if all was quiet in Canada our permanent force might be willing to go to the Soudan in the

autumn, if the campaign were prolonged to that time, which I do not expect it will, and that thus without expense to Canada our force could see some active service. The unfortunate rising in the North-West, of course, disposes of all question in this respect.

It has looked very like war with Russia and both France and Germany have been unfriendly; at such a crisis the attitude of the Colonies has done great good and been very highly appreciated in England. Matters look more peaceful the last two days.

The outbreak in the North-West has excited great interest, and I have pressed you for daily cables, as it was most important that this office should have the most recent information. I do not see how much headway could be made without your having information. What a commentary all this is upon the policy of the Opposition to obstruct the construction of the C. P. R.

I do not think you ought to have any trouble in carrying a proposal to take $15,000,000 five per cent. bonds in payment for that amount of the loan, and 15 millions of acres of land at $1 for the balance. The land was estimated at $2 at the lowest, and such an arrangement could not be regarded as increasing the original subvention, while it would release the mortgage and restore the credit of the company.

I was much pleased with Tilley's speech, and the exhibit he makes has strengthened my hands with our agents and would help us with the public if everything in the money market was not so demoralised. I am glad to learn that his health is better, although very sorry to hear that Sir David's ailment is troubling him again. . . .

I am looking for a cable from you. I fear this outbreak in the North-West will have a very disastrous effect upon our emigration, and consequently upon the development of the North-West and the success of the C. P. R.

I am very glad to hear that you are keeping so well and equal to the important work which you alone appear to be qualified to perform. But I must not add to your labours by boring you with long letters. I was glad to hear you liked Charlie's speech. Lord Lorne congratulated me upon it very warmly. I have written to Tilley re financial matters.

With best wishes and kind regards to all around you,—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

NEW YORK,
April 5, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have taken advantage of the Easter

recess to get a few days' rest, and at the same time consult Dr. Flint. I have not been quite as well of late as I was on my return from England, and having some new symptoms since I saw Sir Andrew Clark, I thought it best to take the best advice I could get on this side of the Atlantic. . . .

This North-West matter is a serious business, and will cost us a pile of money before we get through with it. Some lives have been already lost, but I hope that our men will soon reach Prince Albert and Battleford, and put Riel and his followers down before there is any general uprising of the Indians. Most of them, so far, remain quiet, and those who have taken the warpath are ungrateful fellows, as it cost us $1,150,000 a year for the last three or four years, to keep them in food and from starvation. Riel has had his own game to play, demanding $60,000 to leave the country. Not getting that, he has led some of the half-breeds, who had fancied grievances, to join him, and thus caused all this trouble. We hope to have the whole rebellion put down within six weeks, or two months, at the outside, but an increased force for the North-West will be necessary for some time to come.

Thanks for your complimentary remarks in reference to the last Budget speech. I will send you some copies in pamphlet form as soon as I return to Ottawa. The correspondence of the periods from 1874 to 1879, and from 1879 to 1884, showed very favourably for the country and for our administration. We have some serious work ahead for us yet, in Parliament, and I doubt if the session closes before the first of June.

We shall have to deal with the C. P. R. I feel, and then we have the Franchise, the Consolidation of the Statutes, and other Government Measures, and resolutions from the Opposition, when we go into supply, including a vote of censure, I have no doubt, in reference to the North-West troubles. . . .

Your son made an admirable speech in the Budget Debate. He struck out from the shoulder from the start, and was very effective. Sir John remarked to me while he was speaking, "The father all over." If the C. P. R. matter has to be dealt with, I do not know who we have to present the case. Langevin ought to take hold of that question, but I doubt if he does. Your absence from the House is now being very much felt. We must, however, do the best we can.

My wife is here with me looking after me and joins me in kindest regards to Lady Tupper and yourself.

Trusting that all will come out right,—I remain, Yours sincerely.

SIR C. TUPPER, *London.* S. L. TILLEY.

CHAPTER IV

CANADIAN FINANCES IN LONDON

THE progress of the Fishery question between the United States, Great Britain and Canada, after dragging its slow and agonised length along over nearly a century, was still a burning question, as the following correspondence will show:

OTTAWA,
April 27, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Sir Ambrose Shea was here yesterday, having visited Washington at the instance of the Newfoundland or St. John's Board of Trade on Fishery matters. He says it is most extraordinary that the Colonial Office allowed Newfoundland to enter into separate arrangements with the United States with regard to her fisheries. Nothing, it seems, could be more unwise from an Imperial point of view and nothing more unjust to the Dominion from every standpoint. There is no trouble likely to arise from the termination of the Washington Treaty with Newfoundland, and any complications that may arise between the two nations will be caused by the attempt of the American fishermen to fish in our waters and the resistance of our people to it. Shea tells me that fortunately Mr. Bayard, the United States Secretary of State, has made up his mind that the subject must be dealt with as a whole and that he desired to see West and him together. This they did and some memorandum has been entered into between West and Bayard. West has not sent this on to the Governor-General, but I suppose it will be here in a day or two. In October last, I think, I got Lord Lansdowne to write to West to make an informal proposition to Frelinghuysen, then Secretary of State, to consider the Washington Treaty continued to January 1, 1886. This was done by us as a sign that we desire to be good neighbours. We stated that July 1 was a most inconvenient period for terminating the Treaty, that the American fishermen would have fitted out all their vessels this spring and would be in the middle of their fishing,

when on and after July 1 they would be liable to seizure and to be driven with great loss from our waters.

Frelinghuysen's answer was that it would be too late to reconsider the matter and that a notice warning the American fishermen would be issued. This answer was expected from the Government of that day, but so soon as Bayard was formally installed, West, at our request, called Bayard's attention to this correspondence and renewed the suggestion, at the same time stating that between July 1 and January 1 we might endeavour to come to some permanent arrangement which need not be confined to the Fisheries. This, of course, was done as an invitation to consider the question of a renewal of reciprocity negotiations. Bayard promised to take the subject up at an early date, so soon as he could get his department in hand, as he had just then assumed the reins. We had no further information on the subject until Shea arrived here. He says that Bayard is extremely anxious to have the Fishery question settled once and for all, and is quite disinclined to be thrown back to the treaty of 1818. He said, however, that no arrangement could be made without the consent of Congress as the treaty was terminated by Congressional action. Shea suggested that an account should be taken of duties paid, and if a treaty were entered into, there might be a refund of those duties. Bayard replied that he would have to go to Congress for this, and that he was desirous of keeping himself disembarrassed of any necessity for an application to Congress.

Shea replied that he was aware of the present relations existing between Congress and the Executive, and he could not expect impossibilities, but that if the Government would undertake provisionally to refund, and this engagement were not carried out by Congress, it would not be considered a breach of obligation. To this, I think, Bayard very properly objected on the ground that no arrangement or promise should be made unless it actually meant business. He has promised, however, that the attention of Congress should be called to the subject in the President's message next December and will, in the meantime, address himself to the question, with the desire to have it settled. So the matter now stands.

When the Governor-General receives from West the memorandum of the arrangements I have mentioned, I shall send you a copy of it. Meanwhile, I think you should make a pretty strong remonstrance to the Colonial Office, for giving Newfoundland their assent to separate action, without consulting us in any way.

Shea thinks Bayard quite in earnest and is, as I knew he would be, quite charmed with him altogether.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, K.C.M.G.

P.S.—We believe that to-day will be taken the final stand between Middleton and Riel's forces at Batouche's Crossing.

NEWFOUNDLAND,
May 13, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have referred to the correspondence respecting the Fishery claims of the Treaty of Washington, and I find nothing to bear out Sir A. Shea's supposition that an intimation had been made (? to Shea) to the effect that H. M. Government had no objection to a separate arrangement between Newfoundland and the United States. On the contrary, my recollection is very distinct that the importance of following the lead of Canada in this matter was particularly referred to in a conversation with him.

That this was Lord Derby's decided opinion is shown by an official letter from the Colonial Office to the Foreign Office dated October 1, 1884, which says: "Mr. Shea was desirous of ascertaining whether in the event of no steps being taken by the Government of Canada with a view to a fresh arrangement being concluded with the Government of the United States, negotiations could be opened with that Government, on behalf of the Government of Newfoundland. . . . Lord Derby thinks it may be well to suggest to the Newfoundland Government that it would seem inexpedient to take any action on the subject until the course to be followed by Canada under existing circumstances has been fully considered by the Dominion Government. . . ."

The suggestion was not made to the Newfoundland Government. I do not see that the Foreign Office answered one letter, but there can be no doubt that Sir A. Shea was under a complete misapprehension if he supposed that H. M. Government had approved of any negotiations being now opened by Newfoundland.—Yours truly,

ROBERT G. HERBERT.

SIR C. TUPPER, K.C.M.G., C.B., etc.

The position of Sir Charles as High Commissioner forms the subject of the following letters:

DOWNING STREET,
May 18, 1885.

SIR,—I am directed by the Earl of Derby to transmit, for your information, a copy of a letter which his Lordship caused to be

addressed to the Lord Chamberlain's office requesting that the privilege of the entrée at Court accorded to your predecessor might be continued to you, together with a copy of Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane's reply.—I am, etc.,

JOHN BRAMSTON.

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA.

[ENCLOSURE]

DOWNING STREET,
May 11, 1885.

SIR,—With reference to your letter of May 26, 1880, stating that the Queen had been graciously pleased to approve the recommendation of the Secretary of State that the privilege of the entrée might be granted personally to Sir Alexander Galt so long as he should hold the office of High Commissioner for Canada, I am directed by the Earl of Derby to request that you will inform the Lord Chamberlain that his Lordship has been reminded that this department omitted to request that the privilege of the entrée thus personally granted to the first High Commissioner might be renewed in the case of Sir C. Tupper, the present High Commissioner. Sir Charles Tupper has made no representation on the subject, but Lord Derby has been informed that he would highly appreciate the privilege, and Lord Derby regrets that through an oversight in this department it was not applied for when Sir Charles Tupper assumed office. Sir Charles Tupper holds a very high social and political position in Canada, and his services as a Minister have been very distinguished and longer than those of Sir A. Galt, and Lord Derby trusts that Her Majesty will be pleased to approve of his receiving the privilege of the entrée.

The precedence provisionally and informally assigned to the High Commissioner as explained in your letter of February 18, 1880, appears to be conferred upon the office of High Commissioner and not upon the individual holding it for the time being. Lord Derby, therefore, concludes that it is not necessary for him to make any request on this point.—I am, etc.,

J. BRAMSTON.

THE HONBLE. SIR SPENCER C. B. PONSONBY-FANE, K.C.B.

LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE,
ST. JAMES'S PALACE, S.W.,
May 12, 1885.

SIR,—I am directed by the Lord Chamberlain to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, and to acquaint you in reply, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that upon the appointment of Sir Charles Tupper to the office of

High Commissioner for Canada, the name of that gentleman was included in the list of those entitled to the privilege of the entrée at Her Majesty's Court in lieu of that of Sir Alexander Galt, as it was assumed by his Lordship, in the absence of any notification to the contrary from your department, that he would enjoy the same privileges while in office as his predecessor.

The precedence of the High Commissioner for Canada, which was provisionally and informally assigned to him as explained in my letter to you of February 18, 1880, will, as Lord Derby concludes, equally apply in the case of Sir Charles Tupper.—I am, etc.,

S. Ponsonby-Fane.

J. Bramston, Esq.

After the close of the session of 1885, Sir Leonard Tilley went to England with the double purpose of consulting Sir Andrew Clark and assisting Sir Charles in negotiating a new loan.

Southsea,
June 27, 1885.

My dear Sir Charles,—Your letter to hand. I will return to London on Friday or Saturday at furthest. I am under the impression that the Order in Council passed before I left, only authorised a new loan of *five million*. We will want *six*, as we will have to pay half a million dollars in bonuses and commissions, and less than six will not cover our wants. I will write Courtney to cable for an amended Order, so as to have all ready in good time. . . .

I am still gaining a little. The weather is very fine, which is in my favour.—Yours sincerely,

S. L. Tilley.

Sir C. Tupper.

Sir Charles discussed with Sir Leonard Tilley, Minister of Finance, and his Deputy Minister, Mr. Courtney, the loan which they had come to England to obtain. After discussing the cost of the loan with Lord Revelstoke, Sir Leonard Tilley and Mr. Courtney, Mr. Currie said the minimum should not exceed 98. Then Sir John Rose called on Sir Charles and said friends wished to take part of the loan at £96 17s. 6d.

The British Government brought in an Inland Revenue Bill, raising the duties on foreign debentures from 2s. 6d.

to 10s. Sir Charles Tupper immediately called the Agents-General of the Colonies together, and they went in a body to the Colonial Office to protest against this proposed legislation. They discussed the matter with the Chancellor, also Sir Charles induced the Right Hon. W. E. Forster to support their views in the House of Commons, with the result that the Bill was amended by striking out the words "foreign securities," under which the colonies were exempted from the increased tax.

When Sir Charles Tupper was appointed High Commissioner for Canada, he found Messrs. Baring and Glyn, the Financial Agents of Canada, unfriendly to the Canadian Pacific Railway, and he took every opportunity of changing their views on that point. It was a matter of vital importance to the Canadian Pacific Railway that their £3,000,000 of sterling bonds should be put on the market by a first-class house. When Sir John Rose was arranging a syndicate to take these bonds at 75 per cent., Sir Charles was able to negotiate a contract with Baring Brothers to take one half of the amount at 90 with the right to take the balance at 91, and the contract was closed before Mr. George Stephen, the President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, arrived in London. Baring Brothers stipulated that Sir Charles Tupper should appear jointly with Lord Revelstoke and Lord Wolverton as trustees for the debenture holders, as reported by Sir Charles in the following letter:

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S.W.,
July 10, 1885.

My dear Sir John,—I sent you a cable to-day, and herein enclose a copy of a letter from Baring Bros. and Co. in relation to it. The great difficulty in connection with the financial position of Canada here has been the persistent efforts of the enemies of the C. P. R. to convince the public that it was a disastrous concern that must break down, or be thrown upon the Government. I have done all that I properly could to sustain the position of the Company, and to-day

I think they are for the first time in a secure position, as the Barings have agreed to issue the £3,000,000 sterling bonds, taking one half firm at ninety (90) free of all expense of any kind. With prudent management the Company should now have no difficulty. Both Tilley and I told Barings that the Government were deeply interested in the success of the C. P. R., and would be very glad to see their house issue the bonds. To-day Lord Revelstoke has pressed me strongly to be a joint trustee with Lord Wolverton and himself for the debenture holders. I told him I would do so if you approved. After the strong representations that I have made to him in favour of the Company, and the advantage I have represented to him would accrue to the Company to have them identified with the C. P. R., I could not well refuse to give my support in the way requested. I am inclined to think it would not only be unobjectionable for me to act, but would strengthen my influence here, which I am glad to be able to say, is daily increasing. I need not add that I will be quite satisfied with your decision, whatever it may be.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

These bonds were issued at 95, and in 1897 were 119.

On July 31 Sir Charles sailed on the *Sardinian* for Quebec, having decided to visit Canada for the purpose of stimulating preparations for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition to be held in London in 1886. He reached Rimouski on August 8, and went immediately to Halifax. He left Halifax on the 16th for Amherst, and from there he went to Rivière du Loup, where he met Sir John A. Macdonald on the 12th, thence to Ottawa, returning to Rivière du Loup on the 19th, where he had an interview with Sir John, Langevin and Pope. Returning to Quebec, he visited Laval and the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Gregory, and left for Moncton on the 22nd. He met the directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway in Montreal on the 24th, when they thanked him warmly for his great service in securing the contract with the Barings for the sale of their bonds, and passed a resolution expressing their appreciation of his service in that respect, and presented him with $100,000 of their common stock, then selling at 45. Sir

Charles signed the mortgage bonds as trustee, and returned to Halifax on the 26th.

Mr. Charles Hibbert Tupper, having strongly recommended Sir John Macdonald to bring Judge Thompson, of Halifax, into the Ministry, and Thompson having said he would consent only on the concurrence of his friend Bishop Cameron, of Antigonish, being obtained, Sir John requested Sir Charles to interview Bishop Cameron for that purpose. At Halifax, Sir Charles saw Judge Thompson, who told him that he would enter the Cabinet if Bishop Cameron approved of his doing so. Sir Charles went to Canso, where he met the bishop and secured his approval. Sir Charles told Sir John that he would not advise Mr. Justice Thompson to leave the Bench and take any office, even temporarily, except that of Minister of Justice.

RIVIÈRE DU LOUP,
September 4, 1885.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—It is rather awkward that Judge Thompson will only take the Department of Justice. Campbell has not resigned and may not do so. My letters to Stairs conveyed this proposal—that Thompson should take your place in the Ministry and a portfolio, with the certainty of eventually getting the Department of Justice. On my going to Ottawa on Wednesday I hope to meet Campbell and ascertain from him what he is going to do.

Don't you think we had better meet before you go west?

I have had no rest this summer at all, and am half inclined to take a run across the sea. But this Riel business must be settled first, and the arrangements for the negotiations at Washington.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

P.S.—Do be at Ottawa on Thursday next, 10th inst.

The following extract from Sir Charles's journal gives an idea of his wonderful activity and capability for hard work at this time:

"Returned to Truro, and from there went to St. John on September 29; thence to St. Andrews, and returned to Halifax; thence to Montreal and London, Ontario, where I

attended the opening of the exhibition and dined with the Mayor. I then returned to Ottawa, where I received an address and replied at the grand stand of the exhibition. Went to Toronto and saw Premier Mowat and others, and addressed a meeting of the Board of Trade at the exhibition on October 16; returned to Ottawa on the 17th, and on the 18th left for Winnipeg, arriving there on the 22nd. Left with Messrs. Schreiber and Stewart on the 23rd for Fargo, N.Y., reached Portland on the 27th, and Victoria, B.C., via Tacoma on the 28th. Left Victoria on October 1, Nanaimo, Port Moody, Yale, Kamloops. October 4, left train for North Fork on horseback at 11 A.M., and at 12 noon met Lord Lansdowne, Governor-General, and staff going west. Camped at the crossing of the Columbia where the bridge was under construction. I crossed alone on the stringers to Golden, where I visited the tavern, where poker was being played, and found my absence had caused much alarm. Left Farwell at 7, and reached the end of the track at 10.30 A.M., getting to Winnipeg on Friday, October 9. Left Winnipeg on the 12th via Chicago, and reached Ottawa on the 16th, thence to Halifax and back to Rimouski, and sailed on the *Circassian* and reached London November 3."

On his return to London Sir Charles received letters from Mr. Dore.

ANTWERP,
November 2, 1885.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—In connection with a cablegram I despatched to you in Canada a short time ago, relating to the likelihood of some distinction being conferred on you by the King of the Belgians, I now beg leave to inform you that Count Du Chastel, in an interview I recently had with him, informed me that it was the desire of His Majesty to bestow upon you the order of *Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold* in recognition of the distinguished services you had rendered as Canada's representative at the Antwerp Exhibition. I told Count Du Chastel that although I felt sure you would be much pleased and honoured by so signal a mark of royal favour, yet I had some doubts whether the regulation of the Imperial Government dealing with the question of foreign orders conferred on British subjects

would permit you to accept it. I would, however, I said, ascertain your views upon the subject and acquaint him with them as soon as you returned to England. As your arrival may now be looked for at any moment, may I ask you to be kind enough at the earliest possible opportunity to instruct me what definite reply to make to Count Du Chastel.—Believe me, yours truly,

T. I. S. Dore.

Sir Charles consulted with the Imperial Government, and was informed that no foreign decoration could be accepted, except when conferred on the field of battle. He was, therefore, obliged to decline the flattering honour.

The following letter reveals Sir Charles's willingness to aid the Hon. A. W. McLelan in the discharge of his duties as Minister of Finance. The advice given was adopted, and the difficulty surmounted.

97 Cromwell Road,
London, S.W.,
December 31, 1885.

My dear McLelan,—I have much pleasure in offering you my hearty congratulations upon your promotion to the high position of Minister of Finance. If at the present moment that position is fraught with more than ordinary responsibility, it only presents an opportunity of showing the resources of statesmanship. Charged as I am now with dealing with our financial matters on this side of the water, I have been carefully considering our position and prospects. Mr. Courtney tells me that we must go to the market in the Spring for a loan of not less than £4,000,000, and with a falling revenue and large deficits instead of considerable surplus. I fear we would not be able to sustain our credit at the high position in which we were able to place it last Spring. This would be a great misfortune, and I think I can suggest a way to avoid it. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company owe the Government, and their bonds to the extent of £4,191,500 are deposited as a security with the Messrs. Baring. But the company will be obliged to pay five per cent. on those bonds when issued, and they only pay four per cent. to the Government, and the principal is not due until 1891. The solution of this problem must, therefore, be found in an inducement to the C. P. R. to make the sacrifice of about a million sterling, and this may, I find, be done by the Government taking back sufficient land at $1.50 an acre to pay the balance of their debt. On that consideration, they will

agree to pay here through Messrs. Baring Brothers and Co. during the next summer the £4,191,500 as you require it. This will obviate the necessity of our making a loan for some years, and by investing our sinking funds, for which £300,000 a year is required, in the 3½'s we will probably be able to force them up to par by the time we have to make another loan. But this is not all. So far from there being anything objectionable in this proposal it appears to me to have everything to recommend it. It received the hearty assent of the party when submitted to it last session.

The two principal difficulties connected with the C. P. R. contract were the monopoly by a private company of such an immense tract of land, and the great subsidy created by valuing the land at three or four dollars an acre.

By the proposed arrangement you very much diminish the monopoly and reduce the valuation of the subsidy to $1.50 an acre. When in addition to this you go to the country with this great national work completed in half the time required by the contract, and all the advances made to the company (which our opponents said would never be repaid) discharged in full, you will, in my judgment, receive the same hearty endorsement which the people of Canada have ever given to this great work.

With our present financial difficulties tided over, I have no doubt that you will be able to make a record that will compare favourably with that of your predecessors.

In the hope that these views may commend themselves to the judgment of your colleagues and yourself,—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On January 30, 1886, Sir Charles received the following letter from Colonel F. Stanley :

5 PORTLAND PLACE,

January 30, 1886.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have the satisfaction of informing you that the Queen, upon my recommendation, has been pleased to raise you to the rank of Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

I congratulate you on the distinction, which will be universally recognised as having been well earned by your great services to the Dominion and to the Mother Country, and it affords me great pleasure to have been enabled, before giving up the seals of the Colonies, to make this communication to you.

In conclusion, let me thank you for the kindness and courtesy which I have uniformly received from you during my short tenure of office. With best wishes.—I remain, dear Sir Charles, Yours truly,

FRED. STANLEY.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., C.B.

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
LONDON, S.W.,
January 30, 1886.

MY DEAR COL. STANLEY,—I have this morning received your letter informing me that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to confer upon me the high distinction of the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. I beg you to express to the Queen my high appreciation of this great honour, which is as gratifying as it was unexpected. I thank you very much for the kind terms in which this has been communicated to me, and assure you that the pleasure afforded has been thus greatly enhanced. Permit me to add how deeply I feel the warm interest you have ever evinced in everything that concerned the interest of Canada, and the kind and effective support you have invariably given to the important measures I have had to submit for your consideration. With many thanks.—I remain, dear Col. Stanley,

CHARLES TUPPER.

After Sir Charles had pressed upon the Colonial Office the propriety of recognising the claims of Mr. George Stephen and Mr. Donald Smith, he received a letter from Sir R. G. Herbert, dated January 15, which stated that "The matter relating to Mr. Stephen is completed, and we shall telegraph the news to him to New York to-day." A baronetcy was conferred.

The matter of finance is still to the front in the New Year, as the correspondence following amply shows.

OTTAWA,
February 3, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—. . . I have had some conversation with Sir John on the subject you refer to and he seems at present of the opinion that we should first get the twenty millions and then take land with the company. I judge from an interview that I had with Sir George that he will expect the payment of the money, if made soon, to be for the settlement by land of the ten millions. He is, however, not yet ready to negotiate, and I will take opportunity to discuss the points

with Sir John. A large sum appears at the credit of the Company for the conveyance of troops, which with constructive earnings makes a better show than they are likely to have next year or until trade is fairly established, and I think it would be wise for the Company to sell, and for us to agree to terms which might be an inducement to the Company to go from four to five per cent.

Our accounts for the year 1885 will, outside of N.-West expenses for trouble, nearly balance. In the present year we have lost our breadstuffs, provision and cotton manufactures. People are eating no less, and the inference is that we are saving a million dollars (in 6 mos.) by furnishing the food ourselves. The decrease in cotton manufactured goods is simply because we are manufacturing ourselves. In every article regarded as a luxury or not producible in the country, the evidence is that the country is taking increased quantities.

Delegates from Prince Edward Island have left for London, to seek enforcement of the agreement to provide for winter crossing. I prepared a memo on the subject, a copy of which, with Order in Council, was sent to you, I believe, but fearing it may not have been sent or reached you, I enclose a copy that you may understand the subject the better when you see the delegates.

The *Northern Light* made regular trips this season until January 27 or some time last week. I took (as Minister of Marine and Fisheries) charge of the crossing at the capes, and there is now a good organisation and equipment.

The delegates crossed by that route, and I believe they said it was the first time that they had ever been brought over, that is, they had on all previous occasions to work their passage. The average number of passengers crossing by the *Northern Light* was about six in December and January. In my memo I gave the number in past years as nine, but there are more in the spring.

Thompson and Foster, the newcomers, are both industrious, and with White we shall be in a better position than last year, after you and Sir Leonard left, and that loss we cannot make good.

Sir John has been very unwell since his return and I hope will get through the work of the session well.—I am, dear Sir Charles, Yours very truly,

A. W. McLelan.

An interview between Earl Granville, K.G., the High Commissioner of Canada, and the Agents-General of the Australasian Colonies concerning the Pacific Islands on February 23 is an undoubted evidence of the growing im-

portance of Canada in the eyes of the British Government, and also of Canada's influence in the direction of Imperialism. Lord Granville now saw that the interest of Canada would, in the future, be identified with the Pacific Ocean and the Australasian Colonies. Sir Charles appeared as Canada's representative in this matter, which had hitherto concerned the Australasian Colonies alone, and which marked an important epoch in the growing power and influence of the Dominion.

OTTAWA,
March 9, 1886.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 29th ult., enclosing extract from copy of a note from Lord Revelstoke.

To-day the C. P. R. have agreed to sell their bonds and pay us off between now and the 1st of July 20 millions, we taking payment in lands for the other 10 millions at $1.50 an acre. This will obviate the necessity of making a loan and will also, I hope, prevent our meddling with the tariff.

Until the details are worked out, however, this is a secret.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

97 CROMWELL ROAD, S.W.,
April 12, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—We were greatly disturbed here to learn that you had been so ill but delighted to find that you were getting all right again. You cannot imagine how widespread the anxiety was until I gave Pope's cable to the Press. I congratulate you most heartily on the triumph you have again scored on the Riel matter, and read your racy description of the whole affair with great interest. I was not surprised to hear that Thompson had won golden opinions from all our friends, and had fully justified all I had said to you of him. If you can inspire him with a little more fire he will prove invaluable to you and our cause. Even Campbell will come to appreciate the importance of having a Minister of Justice in the Commons. I am afraid from what you tell me that my step in the order did not give my old colleagues the pleasure that I think it ought to have done. I cannot help it. It was the outcome of as unselfish work as was ever done for Canada.

I thank *you* very much for your kind congratulations which I know

were as sincere as they were hearty. The Duke of Abercorn pressed me to-day to move a resolution on Wednesday evening at the theatre where Lord Salisbury and the Marquis of Hartington are to join hands. He said they were both anxious that I would consent in aiding them to support the unity of the Empire against Mr. Gladstone's proposals. I told him that I regarded an attitude of open hostility to the Government of to-day as incompatible with my position, but I confess I was strongly tempted.—Ever yours faithfully, CHARLES TUPPER.

CHAPTER V

COMPLETION OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY (1886)

THE question of the Colonial Exhibition was a pressing one in the spring of 1886, as the following letters prove :

SOUTH KENSINGTON, S.W.,
March 31, 1886.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—I think I had better enclose what Col. Knollys has sent me. I should observe that I informed His Royal Highness that we were expecting daily a large consignment of goods from Canada. But he must have been alarmed at the backward state of the Courts which His Royal Highness went over, in comparison with the activity going on in other parts of the building. He recognised the Paris cases. The Prince of Wales is also well aware of the unexampled efforts you have made personally. He expects every part of the Exhibition to be ready by May 1 for the finishing touches previous to May 4.

Believe me, My dear Sir Charles, Yours sincerely,

PHILIP CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., C.B.

[ENCLOSURE]

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,
PALL MALL, S.W.,
March 29, 1886.

DEAR SIR PHILIP CUNLIFFE-OWEN,—The Prince of Wales was much pleased with everything he saw at the Exhibition this morning. The Colonial and Indian sections are, on the whole, in a very satisfactory state of progress, but His Royal Highness greatly regretted to find the Canadian Court so lamentably behindhand, in fact virtually empty. Unless great pressure, without a moment's delay, is put on, the Prince does not see how the Court in question can possibly be ready and in a proper state by May 4, the day on which the Queen opens the Exhibition. He requests you, therefore, to speak to Sir Charles Tupper on the subject in the strongest terms.—Yours sincerely,

FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

April 1, 1886.

DEAR SIR PHILIP CUNLIFFE-OWEN,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of March 31, covering a letter from Col. Knollys, expressing the great concern of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales at the backward condition of the Canadian Court. I must ask you to inform H.R.H. that I have pushed the preparation of the Court as much as possible since I obtained possession of a part of it on January 20, and that I have only obtained possession of a portion of it last Monday—that I urged the Department of Agriculture to ship all the exhibits before March 1, and although I am powerless to expedite the arrival of the exhibits now on the ocean, I will make every exertion to place them as fast as is possible after they arrive.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On April 7 Sir Charles attended a banquet given to Mr. Murray Smith on his leaving his position as Agent-General for Victoria. The Duke of Cambridge was in the chair, and Sir Charles proposed the toast of the Prince and Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal family. Lord Granville, who had a seat next to Sir Charles, said to him:

"Now, as you have got over your speech, I wish to talk to you about mine. Is Froude here? Well, whether he is here or not, I intend to attack him for what he said in 'Oceana' about the Liberal party being less anxious to retain the Colonies than the Conservatives. Whatever may have been the case in the past, it is not true now. I am going to refer to what General Sir Andrew Clarke said about the Military School at Kingston, Canada, that it was one of the best in the world, judging not only from its curriculum but from the officers educated there who are now in the British Army."

Sir Charles replied: "Has Your Lordship heard what Major-General Brackenbury said in his book in reference to the Canadian voyageurs in the Nile Expedition?"

"No," said Lord Granville.

Sir Charles continued: "He said that but for the presence of the Canadian voyageurs, the ascent of the Nile would have taken a week longer and cost many more lives.

And had it not been for their skilful counsel and labours, the descent of the Nile would have been impracticable."

Lord Granville asked Sir Charles if he had any objection to his using these facts in his speech. Sir Charles said : "On the contrary, I should be very glad to have you do so." Not wishing, it may be assumed, to lengthen his speech, Lord Granville omitted any reference to the Royal Military College at Kingston. *The Times* of the next morning contained a verbatim report of this speech, with the exception that while his unuttered reference to the Military College was reported, there was not a word about the Nile Expedition.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition was opened on May 4 by the Queen in person. Each member of the Executive was presented to Her Majesty, and went in procession with her to the Albert Hall. An ode written for the occasion by Tennyson was sung by Albani, and the Queen led in the cheering at its close.

On May 21 the Queen paid a visit to the Canadian Court in the Exhibition, over which she was conducted by Sir Charles Tupper.

A letter from the Hon. A. W. McLelan to Sir Charles, written on April 23, 1886, contains a clear account of the members and the condition of the Canadian Cabinet at that time. It is a frank and generous admission by Mr. McLelan of the foresight and soundness of Sir Charles's views respecting the assistance rendered the Canadian Pacific Railway at an acute financial crisis in its history. The Government, as has been shown, urged by the sanguine forecast of Sir Charles, came to the help of the road—the millions were guaranteed, the Canadian Pacific Railway was delivered from its embarrassment, and before April, 1886, had completed the road and repaid to the Government the entire loan. Mr. McLelan generously admits the superior talents of Sir Charles, speaks highly of Sir John Thompson, and holds his office as Finance Minister at the disposal of the

Government. Nor does he overlook the magnanimity of Western members in cordially receiving Sir John Thompson when they might have demanded the office of Minister of Justice for one of their own legal lights.

OTTAWA,
April 23, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have been so pressed with work, mainly from Tariff deputations, that I have not written. Mr. Courtney, however, keeps you posted in matters of Finance. Our trouble is just now too much money. There is on hand here nearly seven and a half millions giving no return. We shall, of course, require a good deal during the season, but it is a loss of interest at present.

Our sugar revenue, owing to the decline on values, had largely decreased, and I made a change to specific which should give us, on same quantity as imported last year, an increase of say 6 to 700,000 dollars. I think it politically desirable to keep away from tea as long as possible. Should the Americans give us free lumber and coal at any time and we reciprocate, we may then have to tax tea and coffee, or the latter at least, which, with us, is not so much of a poor man's beverage as tea is.

I am quite ashamed of the length of my maiden Budget speech, but I undertook to give some material to our friends for use in canvass, to anticipate Cartwright's criticism, and to make the Budget speech.

Any political seed we sow this year is more likely to do good than if given next year when the elections are upon us. As soon as we meet next week I shall proceed with the Bill for settlement with the C. P. R. I have not seen a single adverse criticism of the proposal. It is certainly a great triumph for our party to land that twenty millions. I hardly think that you, sanguine as you are, expected it to be paid so soon. It is a great disappointment to the Opposition. The Speaker tells me that Mackenzie has advised them to let the session wind up as soon as possible and get away home; that the Riel business has been a failure; that the C. P. R. is finished, the money paid back, and the Public Accounts not in so bad a way as stated, and they can make no headway. Certainly sensible advice, and they seem disposed to follow it, as they are now not giving much factious opposition.

Thompson has been of very great service to us; indeed, without him in Sir John's illness we should have been very badly off. What is most satisfactory is that our Ontario friends give him his position

cordially and without any show of jealousy of the Bluenose. Still, I cannot help thinking that some of the legal gentlemen West would be all the better pleased if they had a Western legal light, and it might have been better could Sir John have carried out his purpose of giving Finance to Plumb, as it may in time be considered that the East has more than its share of the important offices.

Sir John has improved very much this week but will have to take great care of himself. His absence from the House makes one think of the possibilities and perhaps the probabilities of the near future, and I keep in mind your promise to return when needed, and hold my place ready for you whenever the necessity arises.

I enclose a memo showing revenue and expenditure to 20th, compared with 1885 same date.—I am, dear Sir Charles, Yours very truly,

A. W. McLELAN.

To HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., etc.

An "At Home" was given on May 25 by Lady Tupper at the High Commissioner's residence, which was attended by the Marquis of Lorne, Princess Louise, Lord and Lady Dufferin, and in all about four hundred guests. Through the kindness of Sir George Grove, the music was rendered by the pupils of the College of Music.

An invitation to take part in the proceedings of the Constitutional Union on June 20 was declined by Sir Charles for the reason that, as High Commissioner for Canada, he could not take part in any party movement, as he must, in the interests of Canada, be free to approach whatever Government might be in power.

At a dinner given at Trinity House, Sir Charles responded to the toast, "The Colonies."

Mr. John Morley, at this dinner, requested Lord Iddesleigh to introduce him to the High Commissioner. In the conversation which followed, Mr. Morley said: "I see, Sir Charles, that you have had some experience in constitutional questions. I would like to know what you think of Home Rule."

"As High Commissioner for Canada I never discuss party politics in England," replied Sir Charles.

"I see your objection," said Mr. Morley; "but perhaps you would give me your opinion confidentially?"

"Well," replied Sir Charles, "I think it might be practicable to give to each of the four provinces of Ireland a local constitution such as Ontario or Quebec enjoys, under which they could deal with all the local questions; while all national questions could be dealt with at St. Stephens, where Ireland might retain a reduced representation."

Mr. Morley replied that the provinces would be quite incapable of working out such a system.

That a leading statesman should hold such an opinion of Ireland was to Sir Charles, after his experience in Canada, a matter of great surprise.

On June 30 a meeting of the Imperial Federation League was held at the Mansion House. Sir Charles had been requested to support the toast, "The Empire," to be proposed by Lord Iddesleigh. During the meeting a note from Mr. A. Loring was handed to Sir Charles. It contained an urgent request that, as Lord Iddesleigh would not be able to be present, Sir Charles would propose the toast, which he did. It transpired that on his way to the Mansion House, Lord Iddesleigh called upon Lord Salisbury at Downing Street, and died while in the waiting-room.

Sir Charles discussed with the Colonial Office the question of stopping the half-pay of military and naval officers when they were employed by a Colonial Government. The occasion for this arose from a statement in a letter from General Middleton that:

"The Military Secretary tells me that he has seen Sir R. Thompson again about my pay. He declares that the different Colonial Commissioners agreed that if the Colonies employed Imperial officers, they were to be answerable for *all* their pay and allowances, but that their time was to count, also that if the Colonies employed retired officers who had completed their service for pension in the Colonies, they would not be allowed to draw their pension.

"If this is really carried out it will cut me out, not only of my pay now, but hereafter when I return, if the Canadian Government are

willing to keep me on. I only write this to let you know what Sir R. Thompson says, as I think I quite understand your views on the subject."

Sir Charles instanced the extraordinary policy of continuing the half-pay of retired officers, even when spending their time in idleness, and in some cases in dissipation, and stopping it if they should be engaged by Colonial Governments in their professional capacity, although this would be for the strengthening of the Empire. The discussion of this subject resulted in reasonable changes being made.

Sir Charles and Lady Tupper and members of the Executive Committee of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, on invitation, went to Windsor Castle and were received by the Queen, and on July 9 Sir Charles was the recipient of honours from two sources presenting a striking contrast. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the University of Cambridge, and on the evening of the same day he received the freedom of the Fishmongers' Company.

On consulting the time-table, he found it impossible to be at Cambridge at the hour the degrees were conferred, and also be able to reach London in time to dine with the Fishmongers' Company. He wrote to the Dean of the University to this effect, and while expressing his thanks for the proposed honour, regretted that he had to decline the honour of attending at Cambridge. The Dean of the University succeeded in persuading the Company to postpone the hour of their dinner until such time as Sir Charles could attend at both places.

The Times of July 10 referred to the coincidence that on the very day on which Sir Charles received the honorary degree of LL.D. from Cambridge, and Mr. Sandys, the Latin Orator, referred to the matter of Sir Charles signing the contract for the Canadian Pacific Railway, the first train on that road connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans passed through the city of Winnipeg.

On August 5 Sir Charles received an invitation from the Prince of Wales to dine on board the Royal Yacht *Osborne,* and found himself one of a party of about forty. The Prince of Wales's Private Secretary asked Sir Charles to take the Princess Louise in to dinner, and to sit on the right hand of the Princess of Wales. The Prince of Wales took in Mrs. Dalrymple-York, and sat opposite the Princess, with Mrs. Brown-Potter on his left, just opposite to Sir Charles. The Prince said: "Sir Charles, we met first in Halifax. It was the same time Lord Mulgrave was Lieutenant-Governor. You would hardly think that this lady, Mrs. York, was own cousin to the Marquis of Normanby. But the family consisted of thirteen children. The Marquis was the son of the eldest, and Mrs. York is the daughter of the youngest."

Mrs. York, looking across to Sir Charles, said: "I always call the Marquis 'Jack' when we meet, and kiss him."

Sir Charles replied in a very low tone which he did not suppose the Princess heard, especially as she was a little hard of hearing: "I am sure he must appreciate being your cousin." At this, the Princess turned her head around and said: "You were quite right in saying that to Mrs. York, for she was fishing."

The Prince of Wales then inquired: "What have you done to Mr. Goldwin-Smith in Canada? He went there a great Radical, and now he is a strong Tory."

Sir Charles replied: "I believe his views regarding English politics have undergone some change; but I am sorry to say he still holds to the opinions he had formed in the Old Country in regard to Canada."

"Ah, what were they, Sir Charles?" asked the Prince.

"He still adheres to the opinion that the inevitable destiny of Canada is to become a part of the United States."

With a twinkle in his eye, thinking Sir Charles did not

know who Mrs. Brown-Potter was, as she had not then gone on the stage, the Prince said: "Well, you do not think so."

Sir Charles replied: "No, sir. I do not think Canada will ever fall into the arms of the United States, great as are their attractions," bowing to Mrs. Potter.

The Prince, turning to her, said: "Great as are their attractions!"

On retiring to the saloon, the Prince asked Mrs. Dalrymple-York to recite. She gave several inimitable impersonations of leading actors and actresses. The Prince then asked Mrs. Brown-Potter to favour them with a recitation, with which, after some urging by the Princess, she complied. She then gave "Casabianca" with admirable pathos. The Prince asked Sir Charles, while Mrs. Potter was sitting between them, what he thought of her recitation. Sir Charles replied that he was reminded of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon. He had heard a great deal of Mrs. Potter's histrionic talents, but the half had never been told.

On the eve of Sir Charles's departure for Canada in the interests of the Colonial and Indian Institute, he was entertained at a luncheon given by the exhibitors of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, which was presided over by Lord Lorne. At this luncheon Sir Charles received an address from the Canadian exhibitors, which was read by Lord Lorne.

Immediately after receiving these expressions of appreciation, Sir Charles left for Canada on the steamer *Parisian*. He landed at Rimouski on August 28. His nephew, Mr. Hillson, who met him there, informed him that the health of his brother, Dr. Nathan Tupper, had improved. As Lady Tupper was not very well, they decided to go to Halifax, where their son, Charles Hibbert Tupper, lived. It was Sir Charles's intention, after arriving in Halifax, to return the next day to visit Dr. Nathan

Tupper at Amherst, but as they approached that town on their way to Halifax, Sir Charles told Lady Tupper that he had so strong a presentiment respecting his brother that he would stop over. He left the train at this point and spent the day with his brother, after which he went on his way to Halifax. Dr. Nathan, who enjoyed his visit very much, was stricken with apoplexy the following night, and although he lived for some days, he was never able again to communicate with his friends.

On September 13 the Prince of Wales addressed a letter to the Lord Mayor of London suggesting the foundation of the Imperial Institute as a memorial of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.

On September 27 Sir Charles met Sir John A. Macdonald and his colleagues at Ottawa, when, after a full discussion, they agreed to give to the proposed Imperial Institute of the Colonies and India £20,000 sterling. Sir Charles then visited the Governments of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. He was assured by them all of their hearty co-operation, and that they would contribute to the object any exhibits belonging to them and their respective Governments, as the Federal Government had done.

Sir Charles had arranged with Sir P. Cunliffe Owen to cable the result of his visit to Canada, when, if favourable, the Prince of Wales would send a letter to the Lord Mayor. On September 11 Sir Charles received the following cable:

Am anxiously awaiting your cablegram.

OWEN.

to which he sent this reply:

September 27, 1886.

SIR P. C. OWEN,
Exhibition, London.

Please inform the Prince of Wales that Government will ask Parliament to give £20,000 to Imperial, Colonial and Indian Institute as Memorial of Jubilee of Her Majesty's reign.

CHARLES TUPPER.

Completion of Canadian Pacific Railway

On September 28 Sir Charles sent another cable :

Sir George Stephen and Sir Donald Smith will each give to the Queen's Jubilee Memorial £5,000.

To this came the following reply :

LONDON,
September 29, 1886.

To SIR C. TUPPER.
Ottawa.

Desire to express thanks and great satisfaction at amount which Government propose to ask for and appreciation of Stephen's and Smith's promises.

PRINCE OF WALES.

Sir Charles returned to England, sailing from Rimouski on October 14 and arriving in London on the 23rd.

November 15, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have taken care to inform the Prince of Wales, as you desired, that Canada will give the £20,000 to the Jubliee Fund, whatever form it may take. I will write you fully upon the Institute matter so soon as anything is decided. Two serious obstructions have sprung up in opposition to the Prince's plan.

The Chamber of Commerce object to its being for only the Colonies and India, and the theatres object to the attractions of the Gardens and music, and both these points will have to be conceded to get the money.—Yours sincerely,

CHARLES TUPPER.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,
PALL MALL, S.W.,
December 30, 1886.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—The Prince of Wales feels that the time has now arrived when the Colonies should be represented on the temporary Committee which he has formed for the purpose of dealing with the question of the future government of the Imperial Institute and with other points connected with the undertaking.

I am, in consequence, desired by His Royal Highness to express a very sincere hope that you may be induced to afford him the benefit of your services by consenting to become a member of this Committee in conjunction with Sir Saul Samuel.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., C.B.

Sir Charles complied with the request, and became a member of the Committee on the organisation of the Imperial Institute.

On January 20, 1887, at the request of the Prince of Wales, Sir Charles attended a meeting at the Mansion House, and seconded a resolution in support of the Imperial Institute, moved by Lord Lorne.

In connection with the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway, a sudden enlargement of Canada's sphere of influence was borne in upon the minds of statesmen in both the Dominion and Great Britain. It was seen that after the completion of this phenomenal undertaking, Canada would be joined with Australia and New Zealand by steamship communication, and her influence would, therefore, be extended over the Pacific Ocean. It fell to the lot of Sir Charles Tupper, as High Commissioner, to initiate the undertaking of establishing communication between the western shores of the Dominion and Australia and Japan. The subjoined letters indicate the beginning and progress of this enterprise:

January 13, 1886.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I hear to-day privately that the question of the short route to the East via the Canadian Pacific Railway was mentioned at the Cabinet yesterday—and very well received—but no Minister had received, they said, any formal proposals from either the Canadian Government or the Canadian Pacific Railway on the subject.

I have not liked, personally, to meddle in the matter, so long as I am an official, but Mr. Smith is going to speak to me to-day; and I should much like a few words with you first.

I shall be here till one p.m. or a little later. I would come down to you but am very busy.

Could you see me here or at the House?—Yours very truly,

H. S. NORTHCOTE.

COLONIAL OFFICE,
September 6, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—. . . But we have given a good deal of consideration to the other matter you pressed upon my attention—

LADY FLAPPER

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H. S. [illegible]

Colonial Office,

September 6, 1887.

My dear Sir Charles,— . . But we have given a good deal of consideration to the other matter you pressed upon my attention

LADY TUPPER

the proposed subsidy to a line of steamers from Vancouver. Here, as before, there was a very general sympathy with the object aimed at, but we have felt ourselves in this special difficulty. The Departmental Committee which we have called upon to report upon the subject, made a report, which, without being actually unfavourable, was so neutral and colourless that it is, for Parliamentary purposes, of little use. And accordingly some of us have felt that it will be necessary, in the first instance, to get together a stronger case before we can press the matter upon the House of Commons. No decision has, therefore, been at present come to by the Cabinet, but I am going to take immediate steps to get together further evidence from the Imperial and defensive point of view to strengthen the case for our purpose. I propose to refer the question to a very small committee or commission who will go to work at once.

I am sorry for this delay, but I am afraid that it is unavoidable, and I am sure that an adverse decision, which might have resulted from our imperfect presentation of the case, would have been worse.

But you know my own view, and you may rely upon my doing only that which appears best calculated ultimately to attain the object.

I hope you are enjoying your time in Canada. You will, no doubt, be seeing Sir John Macdonald, to whom I beg that you will tender my best respects as well as those of Mrs. Stanhope.

We expect to see you again about the end of October.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

EDWARD STANHOPE.

The editor of *Imperial Federation* asked Sir Charles Tupper for his views on the subject of Imperial Federation, to which Sir Charles made reply in a letter dated December 3, and published in the next issue of that journal.

CHAPTER VI

ANOTHER ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE PACIFIC STEAMSHIP SERVICE (1886—87)

IN going to the country for a Provincial election, the Nova Scotia Government, led by the Hon. W. S. Fielding, resorted to the device of making a repeal of the British North America Act, as far as it applied to Nova Scotia, the campaign cry. The result of this election added to the alarm already entertained by Sir John A. Macdonald in respect to the Dominion general election which would come in 1887. This is evident in a letter from Sir John to Sir Charles :

OTTAWA,
June 21, 1886.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—You will have seen long ere this reaches you, that Fielding has defeated the Conservatives on the Secession cry—horse, foot and artillery. Never was there such a rout. McLelan has come back from his inglorious campaign and gives no intelligent account of the disaster. Thompson is to be here on Wednesday, and we shall know more about it, I hope. . . . So soon as you can be spared from the Exhibition, you must come out and take stock of the position.

We are not in a flourishing state in the present state of public opinion—what with Riel, Home Rule, the Knights of Labour and the Scott Act. We have rocks ahead, and great skill must be exercised in steering the ship. I shall write you when I see Thompson.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Charles, as it appears, did not share Sir John's dark forebodings in respect to the Dominion election.

November 15, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I duly received your letter of October 15, and have been awaiting your promised letter when you had seen

your Quebec colleagues. I do not share your fears that you will be beaten at the General Election, as the success of the Riel party will alarm the other Provinces. I enclose an extract from Charlie's letter, which shows that I was not mistaken as to the prospect in Nova Scotia, and confirms me in the opinion that I am not needed there. No one but a Minister can effectually organise the party, and Thompson going to several of the counties with Charlie will do it better than I could. Both White and Foster created a splendid impression, and when a meeting is held in Digby one of your French colleagues could do service and make that county safe. . . .—Yours sincerely,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The correspondence closed by Sir Charles cabling Sir John that if it was thought indispensable, he would return to Canada. On January 11, 1887, Sir Charles received the following cablegram: "Come out. I sent message before. Must have miscarried.—Macdonald."

A letter addressed to Sir John A. Macdonald shows that Sir Charles was willing to serve in any capacity that would be most conducive to the success of the election.

PRIVY COUNCIL, CANADA.
OTTAWA,
January 25, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—As I have not been able to convince you that it was best for me to remain in England, I beg to say, in the outset, that as a good party man I am entirely at your disposal. I will go to N.S. and make the best fight I can in support of our party, and then return to England, or I will resign my office and contest my old constituency as a private member or as a member of the Government, as you may decide, or, if you prefer it, I will contest Mr. Blake's constituency with him. I think I could probably be of most service to the Government if I took the portfolio of Railways and Canals. But in whatever way you think I can best serve the interests of our party will be equally agreeable to Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

With the hearty consent of all his colleagues, Sir John A. Macdonald requested Sir Charles to take the position of Minister of Finance, Mr. McLelan having resigned it for the purpose of becoming Postmaster-General.

On January 26 Sir Charles received this telegram from C. J. Townshend: "Convention assembled. Awaiting your decision," to which Sir Charles replied: "I am grateful to my loved county, and will be proud to again represent Cumberland in Parliament." Sir Charles then went to Amherst and informed the Conservatives that he must leave the work of the campaign in their hands, as it was necessary that he should visit other parts of the Province. At Halifax, on February 4, he met the Hon. A. G. Jones at a great mass meeting. He was opposed in Cumberland by Mr. W. Pipes and a third candidate, Mr. Bulmer, who ran on a prohibition ticket. Sir Charles visited and spoke in a number of centres in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The result of his speech at Moncton is acknowledged by Mr. Powell. Sir Albert Smith was defeated and Mr. Powell elected.

SACKVILLE, N.B.,
February 23, 1887.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER.

DEAR SIR,—You will be pleased to hear of our victory in this county, no small share of which is distinctly attributable to your influence exerted at the meeting in Moncton. Our party is profuse in its expressions of gratitude for the timely assistance you rendered us.

While the fate of the Government is uncertain, an intense feeling of anxiety pervades our ranks. We hope, however, that you will have a good working majority. No greater calamity could befall the Maritime Provinces than the accession of the Grits to power. The party here wish to congratulate you who saved the Conservative party in 1878, and who, we hope, has saved the country in 1887.—Believe me your humble servant and supporter,

H. A. POWELL.

The Nova Scotia election of the previous year had been carried by the Hon. W. S. Fielding with an almost unanimous verdict in favour of Nova Scotia withdrawing from the Confederation. The local election and the Riel affair had not failed to produce a certain amount of depression in the hearts of the Conservatives of Nova Scotia, and

a corresponding amount of assurance and enthusiasm in the hearts of the Liberals. The contest was vigorous, if not fierce. Mr. Fielding and other members of the local Government entered with enthusiasm into the campaign. The hopes of the Opposition for success ran high. At this distant day the evidence of the correctness of this statement may be seen in the head-lines of the chief organ of the Liberal party in the city of Halifax on the morning of the election of 1887 :

"To-day the Liberal party goes to the polls." "In this Province all the indications point to a clean sweep." "There is a bare possibility of the Tories electing four representatives out of the twenty-one." "Thompson, Sir John S. D., is booked for defeat, while if Tupper and McLelan secure their elections, it will be by the skin of their teeth." "Death throes of Toryism." "All doomed." "Sir John will rule no longer."

As a spectator of the election campaign in Nova Scotia, the writer distinctly remembers the unique effect produced on both parties whenever Sir Charles Tupper came upon the ground. Sir John, accompanied by members of his Cabinet, would on any occasion be well received in the city, but when Sir Charles came the Conservative party seemed to take fire and to have the most unbounded confidence in any plans or strategic movements he might suggest, and were ready for any self-sacrificing service to carry such purposes into effect. On the other hand, the violent and virulent hostility of the Opposition sprang into new life and activity. Their Press teemed with detraction of every kind, intended to weaken Sir Charles's influence and thwart his plans. The whole Opposition party seemed to be moved with a purpose, not so much to win a victory for themselves as to defeat and crush Tupper. The fiercer the storm, the more calm and assured Sir Charles seemed to be.

The result of the General Election in Nova Scotia was the return of fourteen Liberal-Conservatives and seven Liberals. Sir Charles's majority in Cumberland was 611.

So gratified was the Conservative party with the result of the election in Nova Scotia, that an enthusiastic demonstration was accorded Sir Charles in Halifax on February 25.

Parliament assembled on April 13, 1887. On May 12 Sir Charles delivered his Budget Speech, in which he proposed the policy of developing the iron and coal resources of the Dominion. The speech occupied five hours in delivery.

Parliament was prorogued on June 23, and shortly afterwards Sir Charles returned to England.

Before Sir Charles left England in January, 1887, he had been pressing upon Mr. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the plan for a subsidy for a line of steamers to be established between Vancouver and Japan and Hong Kong, a plan which he had previously urged upon Lord Granville and Mr. Stanhope. When Sir Charles left for Canada and became Finance Minister, Sir John Rose took up these negotiations and urged upon Mr. Goschen the importance of such a subsidy. When Sir Charles returned to England, Sir John Rose told him that it was impossible to get Mr. Goschen to grant a subsidy, and it was, therefore, useless to make any further effort. But on July 27, after a long interview between Sir Charles and Mr. Goschen, the following correspondence took place :

LONDON, S.W.,
July 28, 1887.

DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,—As arranged at the interview with which you kindly favoured me yesterday, I enclose a copy of the letter from Mr. Moody, who represents the Canadian Pacific Railway Company here. If you require anything of a more formal character, or details more explicit, he will be prepared at once to submit them, and obtain the sanction of the President of the Company, by cable, if you desire it.

On behalf of the Government of Canada, I beg to reiterate my hope that you will be able to place this matter on such a footing, at an early day, as will enable the Company to proceed with the construction of the ships. I enclose a copy of the cable from Sir George Stephen, which I showed to you yesterday, from which it is apparent

that the Canadian route is at this moment in a somewhat critical condition as regards competition for trans-continental and eastern traffic. I do hope, after the great sacrifices which Canada has made, and the large burden which she has assumed, in accomplishing this great Imperial highway, that the very moderate assistance which has been asked from Her Majesty's Government, in order to utilise it as a means of communication with your eastern possessions, will not be withheld. I need not repeat that after the encouragement held out by Lord Salisbury's Government, great disappointment will be caused, not only to the Government of Canada, and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, but to the public generally, if Parliament should rise without this question having been favourably entertained, and I greatly fear that such inaction, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, will be utilised by those who are at this moment advocating a commercial union between Canada and the United States, which, in my judgment, threatens a serious danger, not only to the best interests of Canada, but also to the Empire.

In the confident hope that you will be able to announce to Parliament before it rises, that Her Majesty's Government have decided to entertain, at all events, one of the proposals for subsidising a trans-continental and Pacific service to Japan and China, and assuring you how deeply this action will be appreciated in Canada, I remain, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER,
Minister of Finance.

THE RIGHT HONBLE. GEORGE J. GOSCHEN, M.P.

WHITEHALL, S.W.,
August 8, 1887.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—I am much obliged for your letter of July 28, enclosing one from Mr. Moody, the representative of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in this country, dated the previous day. That letter contains what, I think, I may regard as a more or less official offer on the part of the Company, to modify the terms of their previous tender by giving the alternative of a monthly service with an annual subsidy of £100,000. This is the first formal notification that Her Majesty's Government have received of this alternative proposal on the part of the Railway Company. The terms of that proposal are perfectly clear and precise, and, after examining them, I do not think I need trouble you for those further details with which you so kindly offer to supply me, if they should be wanted.

I take note of the part that, on behalf of the Government of

Canada, you reiterate the hope that I may be able at an early day to place this matter on a footing which will enable the Company to proceed with the construction of its ships. I also note your expression of a certain fear, lest any hesitation on the part of the British Government to come to terms on the question of the mail service, should be utilised by those who are at present advocating a commercial union between Canada and the United States.

With regard to the latter point, I cannot help feeling that, if there is a really strong movement in Canada in favour of such a commercial union, the proposed subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway could go but a very little way to counteract it. And, on the other hand, your remark fills me with some alarm as to the position in which this country might be placed, if, after it had committed itself to a considerable subsidy to the Canadian Pacific, and that not so much for postal as for general political objects, the commercial union between Canada and the United States should nevertheless, in a short time, become an accomplished fact.

The whole question indeed is complicated by many delicate political as well as financial considerations. Whatever their ultimate course may be, I do not believe that Her Majesty's Government, as at present advised, will be able to make an announcement on the subject in the course of the present session. In saying this, however, I beg you to understand that I am speaking only in my personal capacity. I hope that nothing I have said in this letter will lead you to suppose that I do not fully appreciate either the exertions of the Canadian Government in creating the Canadian Pacific route, or the advantages which the United Kingdom would derive in several directions from a line of steamers such as the Canadian Pacific Company propose to establish. At the same time it is a very serious thing to bind this country for ten years to a heavy subsidy towards a new and more or less experimental route when Parliament has just displayed so much objection to a pledge for a similar length of time in the case of an old route and well-established service.

I do not fail to place your communications before my colleagues, and shall hope to communicate with you further upon the subject.—Believe me, etc.,

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G.

LONDON, S.W.,
August 11, 1887.

DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,—I thank you very much for your letter of the 8th instant, in reply to mine of July 28, but am greatly disappointed

to learn that it is proposed to indefinitely postpone the consideration of the question of subsidising the steamship service from Vancouver to Yokohama, Shanghai and Hong Kong.

I am at a loss to understand the statement that my letter contained " the first formal notification that Her Majesty's Government have received of this alternative proposal on the part of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company," as some months ago the Secretary of State for the Colonies cabled Lord Lansdowne to ask what portion of the £60,000, for a monthly service, the Canadian Government would contribute. Although we had expended £24,000,000 sterling in the construction of the trans-continental railway from Halifax to Vancouver, we agreed to pay one-quarter of the required subsidy, as stated by you in the House of Commons on June 23. I am afraid that you have quite misapprehended what I said in my letter respecting the agitation as to a commercial union between the United States and Canada. I repeat the opinion that such a union " threatens a serious danger, not only in the best interests of Canada, but also to the Empire," and expressed the fear that after the encouragement which had been given, a refusal to aid this inter-oceanic road to the East would be utilised by the advocates of commercial union with the States. But I did not intend to convey the idea that any such danger was imminent, and I may add that I have no doubt that the friends of British connection will, in the future, as in the past, be able to maintain the position to which they attach so much importance, although nothing would paralyse them so much as supposed indifference on this question of commercial union on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

I note what you say in reference to binding " this country for ten years to a heavy subsidy towards a new and more or less experimental route when Parliament has just displayed so much objection to a pledge for a similar length of time in the case of an old route and well established service." I respectfully submit that the strength of the claim for this subsidy lies in the fact that it is a new and more or less experimental route, and I do not see how it is possible to read the debate to which you refer without coming to the conclusion that the principal objection to the Pacific and Oriental contract was the claim which the Canadian route had to the favourable consideration of the Government. As I understand it, the opposition to the Pacific and Oriental contract was only withdrawn upon a strong assurance from yourself that you were favourable to the Canadian project which was receiving the consideration of the Government, and would be in no way prejudiced by the adoption of the contract then before the House, but

that you did not wish to commit yourself absolutely, as it might prejudice your negotiations with the Canadian Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. On March 8 last, Lord Granville said in the House of Lords: "It appeared from a Minute by his predecessor, Sir F. Stanley, that the late Government had come to the conclusion on principle to approve of this project," and the Earl of Harrowby, who had been a member of that Government, supported the scheme in an able and comprehensive speech. Four successive Secretaries of State for the Colonies, after the most careful consideration, have advocated this project warmly. The public men and Press of all parties have united in support of this measure in an unusual degree, and the only opposition appears to be confined to interested parties.

Under these circumstances, and when you consider that the people of Canada have cheerfully incurred an annual charge of about a million sterling to secure this great national and Imperial highway, and are ready to give in addition one quarter of the required subsidy, I hope you will still feel warranted in taking such steps as will avoid the loss of a year, if it does not destroy the whole project.

I thank you very much for the kind assurance you give me that you place my communications before your colleagues, and beg to assure you that the great importance which the Government of Canada attaches to this question compels me to press it upon the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER,
Minister of Finance.

WHITEHALL, S.W.,
September 19, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I hope you have forgiven me for not having answered your letter of August 11.

There was much that I could have said in reply, and indeed was disposed to reply, but in view of the great probability of our coming to an agreement, I thought it best not to prolong the controversial part of the discussion.

I have only still to clear up one point, which you have apparently misunderstood. I have contended that we had no formal offer from *the Company* on the alternative line, to which you reply that communications had taken place between the Dominion Government and the Secretary of State on the subject. But I was not aware that the Dominion Government could speak for the Railway Company. The

Government promised to give £15,000 out of the £60,000, but when I wrote we had no formal offer from the Company to perform the monthly service for £60,000. That is what has led to a certain amount of misunderstanding as to the position I had taken up.

Sir H. Holland has now informed you that the Cabinet have decided on giving a subsidy, and I presume that the next step will be for the Company, or yourself, to begin negotiations with the Post Office authorities in the usual way. For my part, I will place myself in communication with the Post Office so that they may be aware from the first as to the general views of the Treasury on the chief essential points.—Believe me, etc.,

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

LONDON, S.W.,
September 24, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,—I need not, I am sure, tell you that your letter received yesterday has given me a great deal of pleasure. I am well aware of the fact that you could have prolonged the discussion indefinitely had you been so disposed, and I am the more obliged by your addressing yourself to the more important questions of the best means of obtaining the object in view. I was not here at the time, and naturally assumed that Sir H. Holland's enquiry as to what part of the £60,000 Canada would contribute was based upon an offer from the Company. I have sent the latter part of your letter, by cable, to Sir J. A. Macdonald, and have informed Mr. Moody, who represents the C. P. R., that they can now open communications with the Post Office Department for the arrangement of the terms of the contract. I cannot close this letter without saying that your action in this matter will be accepted in Canada as an additional evidence of your appreciation of everything that tends to promote Colonial interests, and to increase and strengthen the ties that bind them to the Empire.—Believe me, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Sir Charles was obliged to return to Canada to attend the trial of his election, which had been protested. It took place at Amherst on October 12. A witness gave evidence that one of Sir Charles's active supporters had paid a railway fare of fifty cents to a man from Springhill who had voted for Sir Charles. The attorney stated that there were no personal charges, and the election was declared void.

After a short consultation with his leading supporters, Sir Charles informed them that he would contest the county as soon as a writ could be issued, and that night he left for Ottawa. A writ was issued immediately, and Sir Charles was opposed by Mr. Bulmer, a prohibition candidate. The result of the election was a majority of 1,260 for Sir Charles.

Sir John A. Macdonald had requested Sir Charles to come home *via* St. John's, Newfoundland, to see if anything could be done to promote the union of that Province with the Dominion. On arriving at St. John's Sir Charles was met by Sir Ambrose Shea, who was staying at the "Alhambra," and who took him there as his guest. While at St. John's, the Hon. Mr. Winter, the Hon. Mr. Whiteway, and Messrs. Bond and Morine, all members of the Legislature, called upon him and discussed the question of Confederation. Their views were in harmony with his own on this subject.

Sir Charles was invited to meet Premier Thorburn and the members of the Government, to whom he stated the terms he was prepared to support for the coming of Newfoundland into the Confederation. It may here be mentioned that the Right Hon. Mr. Bond, Premier of Newfoundland, told Sir Charles in London in 1907 that he regretted that Sir Charles had not been in the Canadian Government when the conference was held at Halifax in 1894 between the Canadian and Newfoundland delegates on the subject of union, as he was persuaded it would have insured the union of Newfoundland with Canada. In fact, he had said to the Canadian delegates: "Give us the terms that Sir Charles Tupper offered in 1887 and we will accept them."

CHAPTER VII

THE FISHERY COMMISSION (1886—88)

FROM the end of the Revolution until 1818 there had been great dissatisfaction in the British North American Colonies respecting the privileges conceded to the United States for fishing in Colonial waters. All efforts to settle the trouble proved abortive until 1818, when a treaty was made which excluded the fishermen of the Republic from the waters on the coasts of the British Colonies to a limit of three marine miles, measuring from headland to headland; also from the bays, creeks and harbours; the United States fishing vessels being permitted to enter the harbours of the colonies when in distress or for food and water, and for no other purpose. The provisions of this treaty were largely disregarded by the fishermen of the United States, who kept up continual encroachments, resulting in conflicts between the United States fishermen and the English ships patrolling these waters. This state of things was discontinued between 1854 and 1866, when a Reciprocity Treaty was in operation. After this treaty expired a system of licences, accepted by both parties, was put in operation. From 1871 to 1885 an agreement on the Fishery question contained in the Washington Treaty of the former date was in force. When this agreement came to an end the agitation was renewed, and engaged the attention of the Canadian, the United States and British Governments, a partial account of which is found in Chapter XIII., Vol. I. By the following correspondence it will be seen how they came to an agreement to make another attempt to have the Fishery trouble settled by a Joint Commission.

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S.W.,
May 27, 1886.

My dear Sir John,— . . . There has been a good deal of excitement about the Fishery question. Lord Granville sent for me, and we had a long interview in reference to the answer to be given by Mr. Morgan to Sir Fred. Stanley. I succeeded in getting what I hope you will think a satisfactory one made. The draft was very objectionable, as it spoke of promoting a settlement of the question. I took the ground that there was nothing to settle. That the United States had rejected the proposal to appoint a commission and that nothing remained but strictly to enforce our undoubted rights. That if Her Majesty's Government showed any disposition to yield to bluster, aggression would be invited, whereas a firm policy would lead, as it had always done before, to a fair settlement of the question. The result was that I secured the distinct statement that our rights should be fully maintained. Day before yesterday Lord Granville sent for me to say confidentially that Mr. Phelps wished to know if Great Britain would consent to give up the vessels seized without prejudice, provided the Government of the United States would immediately appoint a Joint Commission to deal with the whole question. I told Lord Granville that I had no instructions, but personally thought that he might ask if the Canadian Government would consent to release the captured vessels without prejudice, and content themselves with simply preventing fishing within three miles of the shores, provided the United States issued immediately a Joint Commission to deal with the whole question on the basis of the President's recommendation to Congress, but I told him that I could not undertake to say how that proposal would now be received by the Canadian Government. Be good enough to advise me fully as to your views and wishes, and oblige, Yours faithfully,

Charles Tupper.

9 Victoria Chambers,
London, S.W.,
May 27, 1886.

My dear Sir John,—I beg to confirm my cablegram to you of the 25th instant, as follows :—

> " Under Secretary Colonies said in House of Commons yesterday that despatch from West embodying communication from United States Government on the way. When it arrives it will be

considered by the Government in friendly spirit with due regard for complete maintenance of fishery rights Canadian fellow subjects."

and to forward a cutting from *The Times* of the 25th instant giving text of Sir F. Stanley's question, and also the verbatim reply of Mr. Osborne Morgan, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I may say that I saw Earl Granville by appointment on Monday afternoon upon the subject, and induced His Lordship to make some modifications in the answer which it was proposed to give to Sir F. Stanley.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

OTTAWA,
June 10, 1886.

MY DEAR TUPPER,— . . . The American Government has not behaved well in the Fishery matter. The President, with the best intentions, agreed to recommend a Joint Commission to Congress and to press it; but the Republicans, who are very bitter against him, snub him on every occasion and refuse to entertain his recommendation.

The Irish in the United States, seeing in this an opening for getting up a row between England and America, have sided with the Yankee fishermen, and the Republicans are working strongly for the Fenian vote. The President and the Democrats, seeing this, have regularly caved in, and are going one better than Blaine. I am very much disappointed in Bayard. I thought he would rise superior to this barefaced and unconscientious course.

The answer of Mr. Osborne Morgan in the House of Commons was all that could be desired.

You are quite right in taking the ground that we are acting strictly on the defensive. If the American fishermen would only consider the Convention of 1818 obligatory on them, there would be no trouble.—Yours truly,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

97 CROMWELL ROAD, S.W.,
June 10, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,— . . . I have mainly directed my attention to convincing the Government and all concerned that the only way to reach a satisfactory solution was by the firm and unflinching maintenance of our rights, and this, I think, I have succeeded in doing fairly well. I am sorry that Lord Lansdowne feels as he does in relation to my action here. I can be of great use in strengthen-

ing his hands and those of the Canadian Government if allowed to use freely the influence I have acquired, and, as it can only be done, by personal communication. The importance of the presence of an agent of the Government here cannot be overrated in a political, financial or social sense, and I have devoted myself unsparingly to the work with the satisfaction of seeing the most abundant results of my efforts. I only ask to be kept fully advised of the position, views and wishes of the Government, and will do the best I can to give effect to them.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

OTTAWA,
July 10, 1886.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—. . . I have just written him (the Governor-General) to Cascapedia, where he is fishing, and have asked him to urge the immediate allowance of the reserved acts of last session. That enables us to seize vessels entering our bays and harbours for bait, or any other purpose not warranted by the Treaty of 1818. If Sir William Young is right, we can do so now, but Judge Hazen decided the other way, and Thompson thinks Hazen right. If that is so, all we can do is to summon the master for the statutory penalty of £200 which, of course, is negatory, as he cannot be arrested, and will sail away laughing at the summons.

I have asked the Governor-General to telegraph me if he has done so. If he has, I shall cable you to press Herbert to put the Bill through. If it is not allowed, we shall repass it next session and resist its being reserved. That, of course, *entre nous*.

There is another matter. We have received no support from the Navy in Fishery matters. We passed, in March last, an Order in Council asking for such support, but as yet no response.

I have written the Governor-General to repeat our request, and have stated to him that I should ask you to urge the matter. I shall hear from him at Winnipeg next week, and shall then cable you on the two subjects.—Always yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

In April, 1887, Mr. Erastus Wiman wrote a letter to Sir Charles Tupper stating that the Hon. Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State at Washington, would be glad to receive Sir John Macdonald or Sir Charles for the purpose of discussing the question of improved relations between Canada

and the United States. Sir Charles showed this letter to Sir John, who urged him to go to Washington and discuss the matter with Mr. Bayard. As the House adjourned on May 18, to meet again on the 25th, Sir Charles improved this time by going to Washington.

Full details of the result of the conference between Sir Charles and Mr. Bayard are found in the correspondence published in "Recollections of Sixty Years." The outcome of it all was the decision to appoint an International Commission to sit in Washington to consider the whole question.

August 9, 1887.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Lord Lansdowne telegraphed on Saturday to know what were the terms of the Commission, whether they would include—

1. Commercial relations.
2. Alaska question.

And the Government of Newfoundland also telegraphed to know if their questions were to be considered by the Commission.

I send you for your confidential perusal the draft which I had prepared, but before sending it I should be glad if you could come and see Sir Robert Herbert at 12 to-morrow morning and discuss the points with him. . . .

I doubt about having a fourth Commissioner. This would necessitate a fourth United States Commissioner, and we could not be sure that the Newfoundland Government[1] would always vote straight.

Bring back the draft with you.

I should be glad to see you for the Canadian Commissioner.—Yours very truly,

H. I. HOLLAND.

August 30, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Sir H. Holland desires me to send you a copy of a telegram which will go this afternoon to Lord Lansdowne in order that you may learn, as early as possible, what is being done—Not for publication, of course, at this moment.

I think Mr. Chamberlain will be an excellent Commissioner. I

[1] It was finally decided by the Colonial Office that Newfoundland should be represented at the Conference by a Confidential Agent, not a Plenipotentiary, and Mr. Winter, the Attorney-General of the Colony, was appointed.

have always found him a strong supporter of Colonial interests, and it would be hard to find a better business man.—Yours very truly,

ROBERT G. M. HERBERT.

Telegram to LORD LANSDOWNE.

The United States Government have agreed to our proposal for a Joint Commission on the North American Fishery to meet at Washington in the first week in November, three Commissioners on each side. The Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., and Sir Lionel West English Commissioners. Whom would your Government wish to represent Canada? Reply at your early convenience.

LONDON,
August 31, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR ROBERT,—I am much obliged by your note enclosing copy of the cable to Lord Lansdowne respecting the Joint High Commission. If you will allow me to make a suggestion, I think Her Majesty's Government ought to ask Sir John A. Macdonald to serve on the Commission. His undoubted qualifications for the position, the ability with which he discharged similar duties in 1871, and his position as Prime Minister of Canada all pre-eminently indicate him for this position.

I may add that I am sure no solution could be more acceptable to the Canadian people.

I need not add how delighted I am to learn that the American Government have agreed to what I hope will result in a fair permanent settlement of this long vexed question.—Believe me, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The choice of the Canadian Commissioner fell upon Sir Charles Tupper, a likelihood of which he was first acquainted in a letter from Mr. Chamberlain inviting him to Highbury to talk the subject over, in which occurs the following:

"I have much to consult you about in reference to the Commission and to what I hear of its prospects—not all favourable, I am sorry to say."

9, VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
September 8, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—. . . . Sir Henry Holland sent for me to confer with him as to his letter to Lord Salisbury touching the scope

of the Fishery Commission, and after full discussion with him and Sir R. Herbert, it was settled that it should embrace all the questions between the United States and Canada, both on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts, and that Newfoundland should be included, but without a special Commissioner. The latter will be informed that the same course will be taken as in 1871, and that they can represent fully to the Commission what they wish, and that the assent of their Legislature will be required as before. Mr. Chamberlain has asked me to spend next Saturday and Sunday with him at his place in Birmingham, so I will have an opportunity of talking the subject over with him, and I will then be able to give you a fair idea of his views. Sir R. Herbert thinks we will find him a good man for Canada. I expect to sail on October 6 by the *Sardinian* unless delayed by the conversion of our loans.—Ever yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

9, VICTORIA CHAMBERS,
LONDON, S.W.,
September 15, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I spent last Saturday and Sunday by invitation with Mr. Chamberlain at his place near Birmingham. I like him very much, and think we have been fortunate in his selection. We discussed all the questions fully between the United States and Canada. I think I succeeded in impressing him with the vital importance of the United States understanding clearly that England was at one with us in supporting our rights. I told him that reciprocal trade was not of so much consequence to us as formerly, as it was now evident that the United States could not compete with us without entering upon our fishing grounds, and our coal interest preferred the existing state of things to reciprocity, but that we were very anxious to relieve Her Majesty's Government from the embarrassment of these controversies. I think he takes a broad view of the whole question, and that you will find him prepared to sustain our position. He is quite of the opinion that the Pacific question should be embraced, and that it strengthens our position on the Atlantic fisheries.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Sir Charles Tupper requested that the Hon. John Thompson, then Minister of Justice, should be appointed to assist him on the Commission. Mr. Wallace Graham, who had been employed on the Halifax Fishery Arbitra-

tion and who had special knowledge of the legal bearings of the dispute, and who had been a colleague with the Hon. Mr. Thompson in a law firm in Halifax, was named by Mr. Thompson to be associated with him. On November 17 Sir Charles, accompanied by Messrs. Thompson and Graham, Col. Cameron, Sir Charles's secretary, and Mr. Chipman, Sir Charles's private secretary, on their way to Washington met Mr. Chamberlain and Messrs. Bergin and Maycock at New York, and with them proceeded to the capital. On Saturday, the 19th, escorted by Sir Lionel West, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles and their parties, including Mr. Winter, the Attorney-General of Newfoundland, paid a visit, according to arrangement, to the White House and were presented to the President.

At this time there were some unsettled cases before the Admiralty Court between the United States fishermen and the Canadian officials. These had caused irritation in the United States. There was also the trouble with British Columbian fishermen whose vessels had been seized for taking seals in the Pacific Ocean. The boundary question between Alaska and Canada was also a possible subject for discussion and settlement.

Two men better qualified for this great and difficult undertaking than Joseph Chamberlain and Charles Tupper could not have been found. In outstanding characteristics and essential gifts they were alike. His experience as a politician in Nova Scotia, both before and after Confederation, had given Sir Charles opportunities of securing exhaustive information on the Fishery question. His retentive and ready memory made this knowledge available at the instant on any occasion, and proved to be of great advantage to Mr. Chamberlain at many points in the discussion.

In Sir Charles's letters to Sir John, the beginning and progress of the negotiations, and the diplomatic skill, wisdom and firmness of the British Plenipotentiaries are clearly seen.

The Fishery Commission

THE ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON,
November 21, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,— . . . To-day, the 21st, Sir Lionel West called at noon, and went with Mr. Chamberlain and myself to the office of the Secretary of State, where we met Mr. Bayard, Mr. Putnam, and Mr. Angell, and held a first informal conference, exchanging credentials and getting through some routine work.

Mr. J. B. Moore, third Assistant Secretary of State, has been appointed Secretary to the Conference for the American side, Mr. Bergne for the British.

The proceedings are to be absolutely secret; the protocols are to contain brief records of the proceedings without detail, embodying only the conclusions arrived at.

Mr. Bayard explained that any signed treaty or agreement must be sanctioned by the President, and subject to approval by a two-third vote of the Senate; while, if the agreement or treaty involved any change in law the assent of a majority of Congress would be necessary to give it effect. *Per contra*, Mr. Bayard was informed that approval by the Canadian Parliament and by the Legislature of Newfoundland would be necessary.

Mr. Bayard remarked that in such a case an express proviso should be made in any agreement or treaty at which they might arrive.

We are to assemble again in conference at 2 p.m. to-morrow.— I am, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Similar careful and detailed reports of each meeting of the Conference were sent by Sir Charles, but it was not until December 3 that anything definite could be reported, when Sir Charles wrote as follows:

We submitted to-day proposal as follows:—"That with the view of removing all causes of difference in connection with the Fisheries, it is proposed by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries that the fishermen of both countries shall enjoy all the privileges formerly conferred by the Treaty of Washington in consideration of a mutual arrangement providing for greater freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada." If this is rejected, we propose, with your concurrence, to submit as follows:—

"(1) As the United States Plenipotentiaries have refused to consider the proposal to settle the difficulties connected with the Fisheries by adopting a mutual arrangement providing for greater

freedom of commercial intercourse than now obtains between the United States and Canada, in consideration of the same privileges being accorded to the United States fishermen as they formerly enjoyed under the Treaty of Washington, and as they appear to be mainly desirous to obtain commercial privileges in Canadian ports for deep-sea fishing vessels, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries propose that the great advantage of making Canada and Newfoundland a base of supplies for United States fishermen shall be enjoyed by fishing vessels taking out a licence and paying a substantial fee therefor, with a proviso that those commercial advantages shall be enjoyed by United States fishing vessels without any payment during such years as fish, fish-oil, whale- and seal-oil may be allowed to enter the United States free of duty from Canada and Newfoundland.

"(2) In consideration of the above concession from Her Majesty's Government of the facilities of American fishing vessels expressly denied by Article 1 of the Convention of 1818, the United States Government agree to renounce the privileges conceded by the same article in relation to the taking, drying, and curing of fish on the shores and coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Magdalen Islands." . . .

Mr. Chamberlain, in response to the challenge by Mr. Bayard at the previous meeting, gave evidence to show that the British Government had committed themselves in the strongest manner to the contentions of Canada. He cited the dispatches of Lord Rosebery and the Earl of Iddesleigh on this point, and showed clearly that the British Government entirely concurred with the Canadian view on the question in controversy. I had at the previous meeting, as you will see by referring to the précis, accepted Mr. Bayard's challenge on this point; but I requested Mr. Chamberlain to take it up, as I felt the response would come with much greater force from him and would meet the evident desire of the United States Plenipotentiaries from the first to draw a distinction between the attitude of Canada and Great Britain. I am bound to say Mr. Chamberlain undertook this duty most willingly and discharged it admirably. . . .

THE ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON,
December 6, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,—I received your telegram (in cypher) yesterday evening, as follows:—

"Saturday message involved and not understood here; repeat proposition more fully in other words."

I now beg to confirm my reply (in cypher) as under :—

"Proposal already submitted by us was to give fishermen both countries same privileges as under Washington Treaty, provided an arrangement be made giving greater freedom commercial intercourse.

"If that be refused, we propose offering right American fishing vessels make purchases in Canadian and Newfoundland ports also tranship cargoes provided they take out licence. The fee exacted being a substantial one but no payment being exacted when fish is on free list of United States, they renouncing fishing rights on shores Newfoundland, Labrador, and Magdalen Islands." . . .

—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

In a letter to Sir John on December 8, 1887, Sir Charles wrote :

"The reply by the United States Plenipotentiaries, tendered on the 7th December, 1887, to the proposal submitted by Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries on the 3rd December, 1887, was :—

'While continuing their proposal heretofore submitted on the 30th ultimo, and fully sharing the desire of Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries to remove all causes of difference in connection with the fisheries, the American Plenipotentiaries are constrained, after careful consideration, to decline to ask from the President authority requisite to consider the proposal conveyed to them on the 3rd instant as a means to the desired end, because the greater freedom of commercial intercourse so proposed would necessitate an adjustment of the present tariff of the United States by Congressional action, which adjustment the American Plenipotentiaries consider to be manifestly impracticable of accomplishment through the medium of a treaty under the circumstances now existing.

'Nor could the American Plenipotentiaries admit that such a mutual arrangement as is proposed by Her Britannic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries could be accepted as constituting a suitable basis of negotiation concerning the rights and privileges claimed for American fishing vessels. It still appears to the American Plenipotentiaries to be possible to find an adjustment of differences by agreeing to an interpretation or modification of the treaty of 1818, which will be honourable to both parties and remove the present causes of complaint, to which end they are now, as they have been from the beginning of this Conference, ready to devote themselves.'

"I may state here that we made a slight alteration in our pro-

posal before it was considered by the American Plenipotentiaries, so that it read as follows:—'That with the view of removing all causes of difference in connection with the fisheries, it is proposed by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries that the fishermen of both countries shall have all the privileges enjoyed during the existence of the Fishery Articles of the Treaty of Washington in consideration of a mutual arrangement providing for greater freedom of commercial intercourse between the United States and Canada and Newfoundland.'

"We had thus a distinct statement from the United States Plenipotentiaries that they were not authorised to consider any question of Commercial Intercourse, and declining to ask the President for such an extension of their powers as would enable them to do so, on the ground that any such 'arrangement would be manifestly impracticable under a treaty.' . . .

"Mr. Chamberlain said we had reached a critical position. As our proposal was declined, it only remained to see if a third proposal could be found. He asked the United States Plenipotentiaries if they could suggest. Mr. Bayard asked if they could not expand the proposal they had made. Mr. Chamberlain replied that he did not think there would be any advantage in discussion on that basis, as the restrictions proposed were of no value."

THE ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON,
December 9, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,—I duly received your telegram of the 8th instant as follows:—

"Council will sit this afternoon."

This meanwhile from myself:—

"Consideration required. As we understand proposal, permission given fishermen to buy bait and purchase supplies on trading licence—right of unlicensed purchasing abandoned, our compensation being abandonment of convention rights on Labrador Coast, etc. Is this for years or perpetual? No fee for licence chargeable so long as free fish and oil of fish, whale, seal, and other marine animals with packages granted. Proposition leaves trouble from headland question unsettled."

To which I sent you the following reply by telegraph:—

"Transhipment is also included. Privileges confined to vessels licensed. Consideration substantial fee and giving up rights on Newfoundland, Labrador, and Magdalen Islands. No

licence fee required when no duty on our fish, fish oil, etc. Arrangement to be perpetual. This proposition does not deal with fishing or headlands."

This morning, the 9th instant, I added the following particulars by my further telegram :—

"Headlands question not included in present proposal, but will be dealt with subsequently."

. . . With kind regards to all our colleagues,—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

At this stage there was virtually a deadlock in the Commission. It will be seen by the following letter that Sir Charles suggested a deliverance which proved successful :

THE ARLINGTON,
December 10, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,—I suggested to Mr. Chamberlain that he should ask Bayard for a private interview and say that he intended to go to Ottawa and endeavour to obtain concurrence for some proposal which might meet the case and hint at what we had proposed to you.

Mr. Bayard said that he would agree to give up the Bay Chaleurs and fix the others at ten miles width, and was anxious to have a more prompt and less expensive tribunal, that the United States Senate would not renounce the territorial rights as suggested, but he did not object to the licensing, but thought he could carry a Treaty in the Senate providing for free fish, oil, etc., in exchange for supplies and transhipment. This will not only suit us, but will, in consequence of the removal of the irritation, lead to almost all the articles in the Treaty of 1854 being made free by legislation at an early day. If there is any faith in man it looks as if we were to have a fair measure of success.

I telegraphed you that our party would leave Monday night, and that Mr. Chamberlain would leave Monday week and go to Ottawa. As my wife is not very well I leave to-morrow morning for Winnipeg. Telegraph me the moment you require me at Ottawa and I will come at once. We have been received with the utmost cordiality here, and the hospitality has been unbounded from all parties. We have in this way been able to dispel a great deal of prejudice among our opponents and strengthen our friends. Thompson and Foster have given me invaluable aid, and our entire party

has worked with untiring zeal. There has been the utmost good feeling all round. I am sure you will like Mr. Chamberlain. He is able, frank, and fearless, and has created an excellent impression upon all who have met him.

I received your telegram saying "the Governor-General assented to our proposal," but for the reasons before stated we will not put it in until our return. At our meeting to-day, which was before the private interview, Mr. Bayard went over the old story, and I asked him to put in the paper from which he read. I submitted a paper on the deep-sea fishing vessels question which will be sent to me at Ottawa as soon as printed. It is past midnight, and I must close with kind regards to all our colleagues.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The suggestion made by Sir Charles was favourably considered by Mr. Bayard and adopted by Mr. Chamberlain. The negotiations were, therefore, suspended from December 10 until January 10, 1888. Before the former date the United States press had continuously represented Sir Charles as "too exigent" in the discussions, thereby obstructing the way to an agreement. No progress had been made and, as it appears from Sir Charles's suggestion, there was no prospect of a settlement. In the interview between Mr. Bayard and Mr. Chamberlain respecting the latter's visit to Ottawa, Mr. Bayard agreed to the removal of the duties on fish, for the concession of facilities expressly denied by the Convention of 1818, also for the issue of licences to obtain supplies and the transhipment of the fish they caught.

It was Sir Charles's purpose to go to Ottawa during the Christmas holidays, and join Mr. Chamberlain in the discussion of the subject, as it then stood, with the Government. This turn in affairs gave Sir Charles grounds for hoping that a settlement might be reached.

After the visit to Ottawa, Sir Charles returned to Washington via Winnipeg, where he was joined by Lady Tupper. On January 10, 1888, the Conference reassembled, and on that day there came to Mr. Chamberlain and Sir

Charles a most unexpected surprise. It appears that Lord Lansdowne, Governor-General of Canada, had written a dispatch to the Colonial Office advocating commercial union with the United States. This dispatch was sent to Mr. Chamberlain at Washington, who showed it to Sir Charles. It was an instance of the Disraelian aphorism that "the impossible frequently occurs." Sir Charles was deeply stirred and shocked that such a dispatch should be written to the Colonial Office while the British Commissioners were labouring to secure a Fishery Treaty at Washington. He wrote a characteristic letter to Lord Lansdowne and enclosed it in one to Sir John Macdonald.

Sir John's reply may be gathered from Sir Charles's letter referring to it.

THE ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON,
January 18, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I received this morning your very interesting letter of the 15th instant. I quite concur in the force of what you say assuming that Lord Lansdowne would be annoyed at my letter. But although I felt strongly upon the subject I did not intend to be wanting in respect. The fact that this dispatch had been sent to the Colonial Office, the Treasury, and the Board of Trade, as well as to us, made it important, in my judgment, to make some comments. I knew that Mr. Chamberlain would write to Lord Lansdowne upon the subject, and that he would thus know that I had seen his dispatch. Mr. Chamberlain desired me to write to him, but I thought it more respectful to the Governor-General to write to him and allow Mr. Chamberlain confidentially to see what I had written, as I feared the effect of this dispatch might affect Mr. Chamberlain injuriously to the interests of Canada. Having made this explanation, I will only add that I am quite willing, as before, to leave it to your judgment whether, all things considered, it is better to send or withhold my letter.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

It may be assumed that Sir John, in his extreme prudence, withheld Sir Charles's letter to Lord Lansdowne, especially as His Excellency's letter to Sir Charles after

the completion of the Treaty gives no evidence of his having received the communication in question.

The social life at Washington in which the Plenipotentiaries participated may be seen from the following extract from a letter from Sir Charles to Sir John Macdonald:

"Mrs. Edwards, the wife of the Secretary of the British Legation, called, and Lady Tupper and I went with her to the Ministerial reception yesterday, and afterwards called at the Foreign Embassies. We are all going by invitation to-night to the President's reception of the Diplomatic Corps. Mr. Chamberlain and I dined previously at Senator Ewart's. On Thursday, the 12th instant, Lady Tupper and I, as also Mr. Chamberlain, are invited to a state dinner by Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland. To-day we have had a large number of calls from the wives of Ambassadors, Ministers, Senators, etc., and have been to half a dozen receptions. I have met a large number of Senators and Representatives, and the general tone seems to be very friendly. I will telegraph you how matters look after our meeting on Saturday."

While the proposals of the British Commissioners were under discussion, the course taken by the United States Plenipotentiaries called forth the following observations from Mr. Chamberlain as set forth in a letter from Sir Charles to Sir John Macdonald, dated Washington, January 16, 1888:

"Mr. Chamberlain asked an opportunity for the British Plenipotentiaries to consult, and the United States Plenipotentiaries retired. Upon resuming, Mr. Chamberlain expressed his surprise and regret that after conceding all that the United States Plenipotentiaries had asked, and for the simple removal of the duty on Canadian fish, any hesitation should be evinced in accepting that proposal. He quite admitted the difficulty that might be experienced in getting the assent of the Senate, but thought it would be much better to make a Treaty and leave that responsibility upon them. . . .

"Mr. Chamberlain wrote a private note to Mr. Bayard yesterday, placing before him the fact that he had gone to Ottawa with an assurance both from Mr. Bayard and the President that if he could obtain the consent of the Canadian Government to certain proposals they would be agreed to, and his disappointment to find when that

had been done there was any question of their acceptance. Mr. Bayard's reply is worthy of Gladstone, but he does not question any statement in Mr. Chamberlain's note, and I think he feels the strength of our position and will do all *he* can to meet us." . . .

The next letter sent revealed the fact that the course taken by the United States Plenipotentiaries threatened to destroy the hopes entertained of an early settlement, and the following one—extracts from which are here given—pictures Mr. Chamberlain as at the end of his patience:

THE ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON,
January 19, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR J. A. MACDONALD,—Before this reaches you my last letter, with the printed proposals of the United States Plenipotentiaries, will have told you that instead of adhering to the pledge given by Mr. Bayard to Mr. Chamberlain before he went to Canada, it was coolly proposed that Canada should not only surrender everything without any equivalent, but agree to give free fishing in our waters whenever our fish were by legislation admitted free to the markets of the United States.

Mr. Chamberlain at once refused to consider such a proposal, and after a very stormy meeting, which it was agreed should not be made a matter of record, we adjourned until Saturday to enable the United States Plenipotentiaries to reconsider their proposals.

Mr. Chamberlain is wildly indignant with the whole of them, and has come to the conclusion that they are a lot of dishonest tricksters.

He does not believe that anything can be done, and is quite ready to go back to England to fight our battles in and out of Parliament against the United States as the most grasping and unfair people in the world.

I am not so sure that we might not yet be able to make a treaty or *modus vivendi* which would settle the Headland question on as favourable terms as it is ever likely to be settled—put the trial of offences other than fishing, etc., and the courts for that purpose, on a better footing than at present, and provide for commercial privileges by licences in such a way as to remove the difficulty that now prevents a large measure of free exchange of natural products between the United States and Canada.

. . . After our meeting on Saturday next I will telegraph you

the position, and in the light of what I have now said you will advise me fully.

Even if we break up without any solution I believe much good will have been done in England, Canada, and here, and that our position will be improved in every way. Canada will be undeceived as to the desire here for commercial union. Her Majesty's Government and the people of England will better understand our position and support us with more enthusiasm, and I am sure that our intercourse with Senators, Representatives, and influential people here has dispelled a great deal of prejudice, and will bear fruit at no distant day.

Hoping to hear from you very soon, and with kind regards to all our colleagues,—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On January 22 Sir Charles wrote to Sir John:

". . . Mr. Thompson, Mr. Foster, and I then took the paper submitted by the United States and marked out the portion to which we objected, and I settled with Mr. Chamberlain upon our paper as the basis of discussion. He requested me to conduct the discussion, as I was more familiar with the subject. He agreed to support my contention that no right to tranship fish from fishing vessels was contained in the Bonded Transit Clause of the Washington Treaty, although he was not convinced that no doubt existed on that point. He also approved of the suggestion to leave the construction of that clause to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Courts of the United States and Canada if we could not get our contention accepted." . . .

The discussion of proposals and counter-proposals continued until February 10, when Sir Charles sent the following telegram to Sir John A. Macdonald:

I am happy to be able to tell you that United States has modified clause respecting provisions. . . . We have accepted this, as it adopts the essential features of our proposal; they have conceded all we asked respecting bays, and everything is now settled. We are preparing the treaty for signature. Thompson, Foster, and I are well satisfied with it. Foster will reach Ottawa on Monday, and I hope Thompson and I will be with you on Saturday. I will send you a *modus* we propose for two years.

CHARLES TUPPER.

The Fishery Commission

The Boundary question and the taking of seals in the Behring Sea, and the trials pending at the Admiralty Court at Halifax were, after discussion, dismissed; but Sir Charles and Mr. Chamberlain advised the Government at Ottawa to suspend proceedings against the United States fishing vessels at Halifax, believing that this would be helpful in the Treaty being passed by the Senate of the United States.

The leading points of the *modus vivendi* agreed upon were as follows:

1. For a period of two years from the date of signature hereof the privileges of entering the bays and harbours of Eastern Canada and Newfoundland shall be granted to United States fishing vessels by an annual licence at a fee of $2 per ton for the following purposes:—

The purchase of bait, ice, seines, lines, and all other supplies and outfits.

Transhipment of catch and shipping of crews.

2. If during the continuance of this *modus vivendi* the United States should remove the duties on fish, fish-oil, whale-oil and seal-oil (and their coverings, etc.), the said licence shall be issued free of charge.

3. United States fishing vessels entering the waters of Eastern Canada or of Newfoundland for any of the four purposes mentioned in Article 1 of the Convention of 20th October, 1818, and not remaining therein more than twenty-four hours, shall not be required to enter or clear at the Custom House, providing that they do not communicate with the shore.

4. Forfeiture to be exacted only for offences of fishing or preparing to fish in territorial waters, and the United States to issue notices to American fishermen that this arrangement is in force.

It was agreed that this was to be submitted to the Senate with the Treaty. The Treaty was signed on February 5 by all the Plenipotentiaries, and on the 20th it was sent to the Senate by the President, who warmly urged its acceptance.

Sir Charles says in his Journal:

"When we despaired of getting a Treaty, I said to Mr. Chamberlain: 'As the papers are saying that I am

too exigent, I think if you ask Bayard for a private interview and tell him that you are most anxious to reach a settlement, and that if he will agree to abandon the Bay Chaleurs and agree to a ten mile limit for the others, and give free fish for the commercial privileges to their fishermen, you will go to Ottawa during the Christmas holidays and try to get the Government to agree to that, I think we will get a Treaty.' That was done, and the Treaty thus secured."

WASHINGTON,
February 18, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—In parting from you after our protracted labours, I cannot refrain from expressing to you the great pleasure I have had in the harmonious and cordial relations that have existed between us throughout. It is impossible for personal intercourse to be more friendly and more satisfactory than ours has been.

I congratulate you most heartily on the result of our labours, which is largely due to your knowledge, tact, and firmness. In my opinion, you have done enormous service to Canada and Great Britain.

If the Treaty be accepted, it will remove the long-standing causes of irritation between the Dominion and the United States, and pave the way for more complete intercourse of all kinds.

It will give to Canada, unquestioned for the future, a territorial jurisdiction greatly in excess of that which she has in practice enforced. It will secure her undoubted rights in the valuable inshore fisheries for the protection of which she will now be entitled to the co-operation of the United States.

In addition, the Treaty recognises in the fullest way the right of Canada to prevent her ports from being used as a base of operations for the deep sea fisheries, unless and until a fair equivalent is given for the privilege.

On the other hand, the concessions made in the shape of facilities and conveniences to United States fishermen do not greatly exceed what has already been voluntarily accorded by the last published regulations of the Canadian Government.

The Treaty, as a whole, is a fair and honourable settlement of the controversy, and I, for one, am proud to have been permitted to take part in the negotiations.

In a private letter just received from Mr. Bayard he makes a suggestion which I enclose for your consideration and that of your Government.

It appears to me that it would be a great stroke of policy for the Canadian Government spontaneously to offer to withdraw all pending proceedings, provided such withdrawal were not construed as an admission of any claim for damages.

Such action would be an effective evidence of the conciliatory spirit of the Canadian Government, and indirectly it would also be a proof that they were well satisfied with the arrangements made and accepted them as disposing of every cause for unfriendly feeling.

Hoping we may soon meet again, and with great respect and regard,—Believe me, etc.,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Canadian Parliament opened on February 24, 1888. The Speech from the Throne contained the following paragraph :

"The negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and that of the United States, for the adjustment of what is known as the Fishery Question have, I am pleased to inform you, resulted in a Treaty which will, I venture to hope, be considered by you as honourable and satisfactory to both nations. The Treaty, with the papers and correspondence relating thereto, will be laid before you, and you will be invited to adopt a measure to give effect to its provisions."

When the House was in Committee of Supply on March 8, and was discussing the amount required to provide for the contingent expenses—$2,000.00—of the High Commissioner in London, the Hon. Richard Cartwright, while criticising the policy of Sir Charles holding the double office of High Commissioner and Minister of Finance, was unusually complimentary in his expressions respecting Sir Charles.

On April 10 Sir Charles delivered in the Dominion House of Commons a speech on the Fisheries Treaty,[1] which was a masterly summary of the whole question, and which attracted wide attention both in Canada and Great Britain. The following letter reveals the opinions of

[1] See "Recollections of Sixty Years" for a verbatim report.

Canadian public thought on the results of the Commissioner's work as related in that speech :

OTTAWA,
April 17, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I observe that the Bill ratifying, on the part of Canada, the terms of the Treaty respecting the Fisheries has received the approval of the House of Commons.

I heartily congratulate you on the happy result of your labours in that important negotiation.

While unable to approve of all the measures of the Administration, of which you are, next to the Premier, the best informed and most conspicuous member, I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of my hearty concurrence as a Privy Councillor (though not of the Cabinet) in this great international covenant of peace and good neighbourhood.

I need not tell you I differ entirely from those objectors who accuse you of having "given away" our rights under the Treaty of 1818. I have long held, and frequently expressed the opinion, that many publicists, and some Canadian Governments, have insisted upon a construction of that Treaty which the subject-matter and the text do not warrant. But if the present adjustment should unhappily fail to remove every cause of future controversy respecting our Fisheries, the *precedent* you have happily established will, let us hope, avert unfriendly feeling and unneighbourly retaliation.

That you may soon regain your health and accustomed vigour of speech and action is the sincere wish of an old politician, who admired your pluck and patriotic abnegation in 1865–7, when our "New Nationality" was in the throes of its new birth, and who now appreciates the statesmanship you have exhibited in a later and graver crisis.—I remain, believe me, Very sincerely yours,

WM. MCDOUGALL.

HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., C.B., etc.

WASHINGTON,
April 21, 1888.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—The last paragraph of the enclosed slip from the New York *Tribune* imputes to you a suggestion in regard to the coasting trade of the United States, which will, I am sure, be quoted by the opponents of the Fisheries Treaty in the debate that will soon take place in the Senate. Every prejudice which can be aroused in antagonism to the Treaty will be appealed to. I

therefore venture to avail myself of the acquaintance with you which I had the honour to make when you were in Washington, to ask that you will give me authority to deny the statement referred to, if it shall be quoted to our disadvantage on the floor of the Senate.

I have just read with great pleasure and interest the admirable speech made by you on the Treaty in the House of Commons on the 10th. It will, I think, strengthen the hands of the friends of the Treaty in both countries.—Yours very respectfully,

G. W. GRAY.

To HON. SIR CHAS. TUPPER.

The paragraph referred to by Senator Gray was:

"Ministerial journals can only express the hope that something is on the tapis secretly between the Cleveland Administration and the Canadian Government, as hinted by Sir Charles Tupper last night, insuring the opening of the United States coasting trade to the Canadians in the event of the Democrats continuing in power another term."

In a letter to Sir Charles, William F. Putnam, one of the United States senators, expressed his views as follows:

"Whatever is the fate of the Treaty, I feel sure that Mr. Chamberlain foresaw the future when he said that it would furnish the principles for the guidance of the respective Governments in the future, and thus substantially settle the controversies."

Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Sir Charles to inform him that Lord Salisbury had recommended him for a baronetcy in recognition of his work at Washington. Sir Charles replied:

OTTAWA,

April 23, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN,—I thank you very much for your kind suggestion to Lord Salisbury, and still more for the warm terms in which you have communicated Her Majesty's intention to recognise my services on our recent mission to Washington. I quite agree with His Lordship's suggestion that nothing should be done before the Senate has acted. I think it is still possible that the Treaty may be laid over, although the Committee on Foreign Relations, by a strict party vote, has reported the Treaty adversely. I sent you a copy of my speech in our House and find that it has been received by both parties in the States. Putnam was greatly pleased with it, and wrote congratulating me warmly. I have told Thompson

that you had obtained the K.C.M.G. for him, but that he must not mention it to anyone until it was made public. Would it be taxing you too much to ask for a C.M.G. for Foster? I had a telegram sent by a friend of Sherman's to him saying, "The Treaty was adopted in the Canadian House of Commons without division, after a long and exciting debate. The leading Liberals all denounced it as a complete surrender of Canada's rights, but accepted it for the sake of peace and the promotion of friendly relations."

I have witnessed with great pleasure the due recognition of your great services from all parties and classes in England.

With kind regards to all your family,—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The Budget speech was delivered by Sir Charles on April 27.

On April 30 Mr. Marshall made a motion in favour of preferential trade relations on the line suggested by Sir Charles's letter on Imperial Federation.

On May 11 Sir Charles moved that the House go into Committee on the resolution which provided:

"That in consideration of the Canadian Pacific Railway agreeing to relinquish the exclusive right to provide any competing line to be constructed to the south of their line, within fifteen miles of the boundary of the United States, the Government should guarantee the interest on $15,000,000.00 of Bonds at 3 per cent. for fifty years."[1]

This important question was settled without costing Canada a dollar.

Sir Charles moved also that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the following resolution:

"That the provision of the Civil Service Act should apply to the officers and clerks of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, under the authority of the Governor in Council."

This, together with an Act to give it effect, passed the House.

[1] It may be stated that in 1907 the money for these land grant Bonds had all been deposited with the Government by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

The Fishery Commission

Resolutions were tabled by Sir Charles on April 27 relieving Commissioners of the Harbour of Montreal of a large charge of advances made towards deepening the channel and assuming that work by the Government, also providing that no tonnage dues should hereafter be levied on steamers and sailing vessels in the Harbour of Montreal. It provided for assuming the graving dock at Quebec as a public work, and for refunding the amount expended on the wet or tidal dock at St. Charles. On May 8, after discussion, the resolutions were carried.

In proroguing Parliament, Lord Lansdowne said:

"The measure for the ratification of the Fisheries Treaty agreed upon at the opening of the present year between Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries and those of the United States, to which I have given the Queen's assent, will, I believe, be viewed with satisfaction by the people of the whole Dominion as affording a crowning proof of Canada's constant desire to arrive at a just and honourable settlement of all questions arising out of the interpretation of the Convention of 1818. . . .

"The arrangements under which the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has relinquished the exclusive privileges possessed by it in virtue of article fifteen of the original agreement between Her Majesty and the Company will, I anticipate, meet with general acceptance, and by increasing its financial strength enable the Company to keep pace with the ever-growing requirements of the vast region which the railway serves."

Later in the month the question of Sir Charles's succession to the Premiership on the retirement of Sir J. A. Macdonald was raised by Sir George Stephen in a letter addressed to Mr. Pope, and the more immediate matter of his retention in the Government strongly urged as an absolute necessity to secure the safety of the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Following the reception of this letter by Mr. Pope, Sir John A. Macdonald sent for Sir Charles and, placing the letter in his hands, said to him: "I quite agree with the opinion expressed in Stephen's letter, that you should

remain in the Government, and that you should, when I retire, become Premier. Moreover, I will send for Sir Hector Langevin and induce him to join this appeal if you will consent." Sir Charles replied he thought it would be better that the understanding that Sir Hector should succeed Sir John as Premier had better be maintained; that a large portion of the country was French and Roman Catholic, and would naturally expect to alternate in the leadership, as had been the case in Old Canada. He thought also that he might be able to do important work for Canada in the position of High Commissioner in England. Sir John then replied that if Sir Charles had decided that it was better for him to leave the Government, he would make it a condition that his son, Charles Hibbert Tupper, should become a member of the Cabinet. All agreed to this arrangement, and on May 23 Sir Charles resigned the office of Minister of Finance and was appointed High Commissioner. On the 25th he sailed from New York for Southampton, where he arrived on June 4.

CHAPTER VIII

WORK IN ENGLAND (1888—89)

IMMEDIATELY upon his arrival in London in June, 1888, Sir Charles had interviews with Messrs. Baring and Glynn, Mr. Ashworth, and Mr. Thomas Skinner, respecting the loan of $25,000,000. The tenders were opened on June 15 in the presence of Sir Charles at the office of Messrs. Baring and Glynn for the 3 per cent. loan of £5,000,000. It was taken at an average of 92½ per cent. The thrift constitutional to Sir Charles was at this time expressed in heroic measures taken by him for the benefit of his country, and as he had introduced the resolution in the House of Commons for this loan and assisted in carrying it through Parliament, he was especially desirous that the loan should be secured at the best possible rate for Canada.

Sir Charles now renewed with undiminished vigour and assurance his appeals to Mr. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for a subsidy from the Imperial Government for a line of steamships between Vancouver and China and Japan. The following correspondence treats of this matter :

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR CANADA,
9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS, LONDON, S.W.,
June 13, 1888.

DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,—I beg to enclose a copy of a letter received yesterday from the representative of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in London. I may add that Sir George Stephen, the President of the Company, called upon me and begged me to use my best efforts with you in order to secure the arrangement of the contract without further delay.

On the 19th September last you were good enough to inform me that Her Majesty's Government had decided to grant a subsidy

for the Pacific line of steamers from British Columbia to Japan and China, and you authorised me to place the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in communication with the Postmaster-General for the purpose of entering into a contract. The Canadian Government learn with great regret that, although the Company are prepared to carry out to the fullest extent the liberal offers they had made—which were fully detailed in my correspondence with yourself—no contract has yet been made, and valuable time is being lost. May I, under the circumstances, ask the favour of an early interview with you upon this pressing and important subject ? —Believe me, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER.

THE RT. HON. GEORGE J. GOSCHEN, M.P., etc.

In reply to this letter, Mr. Goschen asked Sir Charles to call and see him, and the following letter supplies a sequel to the interview :

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS, LONDON, S.W.,
June 18, 1888.

DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,—As promised at the interview with which you kindly favoured me on Saturday, I enclose a rough draft of the remarks made in the House of Commons of Canada upon the subject of the Atlantic and Pacific Mail services. Unfortunately, I was obliged to leave Canada before this proof was examined, but I have corrected two obvious errors which appear in the Reports.

I sent Mr. Colmer, for the information of the Postmaster-General, a telegram on the 18th April—which was previously approved by the Prime Minister, to the following effect :—

> " The Government have given notice to present contractors for Ocean mail services to terminate the service in one year from this date, in order that we may provide a much more rapid and efficient service between England and Canada."

By referring to the correspondence it will appear that neither in the original proposal of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, nor in the application made by the Government in their behalf, was any reference made to the Atlantic service. The same remark applies to the proposals made on behalf of the Company in the letter of July 27, 1887, which I enclosed to you the next day. In your reply of August, acknowledging that communication, you stated :

> " The terms of that proposal are perfectly clear and precise, and after examining them I do not think I need trouble you

for those further details with which you kindly offer to supply me if they should be wanted."

By referring to your letter of the 19th September, you will see you were good enough to say:

> "Sir H. Holland has now informed you that the Cabinet have decided on giving a subsidy, and I presume that the next step will be for the Company, or yourself, to begin negotiations with the Post Office authorities in the usual way. For my part I will place myself in communication with the Post Office so that they may be aware from the first as to the general views of the Treasury on the chief essential points."

In view of these circumstances, I hope you will be able to accept the assurances given by the Canadian Government of their determination to secure a more efficient Atlantic service, and sanction the completion of the contract between the Postmaster-General and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, who, I understand, have practically agreed upon all the leading features of the Agreement. Considering the time that has elapsed since it was decided "that a subsidy should be given," I trust you will not materially restrict the original ten years contemplated for the service.

May I venture to hope that you will enable me to relieve the natural anxiety of the Canadian Government on this subject at as early a day as possible?—Believe me, dear Mr. Goschen, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

TREASURY, S.W.,
June 22, 1888.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—I am much obliged for your letter of June 18, containing a copy of your telegram of April 18 to Mr. Colmer, as well as the report of your remarks in the House of Commons of Canada on the subject of the accelerated Atlantic service, which is required to complete the rapid communication between Great Britain and the East via the Canadian Pacific Railway.

I gather, both from the tone of your remarks in the Canadian House and from the telegram to Mr. Colmer, as well as from the explanations which you were good enough to give me the other day, that the Canadian Government are as anxious to secure the accelerated service on the Atlantic as they are about any other portion of the new route, and that they are determined to provide such accelerated service as soon as the year's notice necessary to terminate the existing contract shall have expired.

If you would kindly confirm my interpretation of the intentions of the Canadian Government on this point, I think the negotiations might now go forward without further delay.

As regards the number of years for which the subsidy should be given, I will make it the subject of further consideration. But I shall not be in a position to give a definite answer with respect to it until after further communication with the Postmaster-General. —Believe me, Yours faithfully,

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
June 25, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,—I am very much obliged and relieved by your letter received this morning.

I know the keen disappointment that would be felt throughout Canada if anything changed the decision of the Imperial Government to grant a subsidy for the Canadian Pacific Line to Japan and China after it had been formally announced. We have now the assurance that the great efforts made to create this transcontinental line are duly appreciated by H.M. Government.

I have no hesitation in saying that you rightly interpret the views and determination of the Canadian Government in regard to an accelerated service across the Atlantic, and may confidently rely upon the necessary measures being taken to accomplish that object. I hope you will kindly authorise the settlement of the contract at as early a day as possible, as most valuable time in making the necessary preparation for the service is now being lost, and that you will not restrict the proposed ten years so essential to success by any further limit than that suggested to Sir Geo. Stephen of a right to terminate the contract a year sooner by paying a penalty of £20,000. —Believe me, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER.

TREASURY,
July 25, 1888.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I believe that one point alone stands between us and the completion of the Canadian and Pacific contract, namely, the question of the *period* of the contract. You want, or rather the Company wants, a *full ten years* from the starting of the first ship. We had arranged that the date should be practically as you wished, but with liberty to the Government to terminate the contract sooner, viz. on the 31st January, 1898, on payment of £20,000. We must stick to this latter date and this latter sum. We *must* have the right

to terminate on that day, as our other arrangements terminate then. I have no objection to fixing the contract at ten years from the running of the first ship, but we must still retain the right of terminating the contract on the 31st January, 1898, on payment of £20,000. Pray settle this question in this sense, and then we will do our utmost to sign the contract at once and to have it ratified by Parliament before the 11th August.

You will admit that I have made almost every concession asked for hitherto. On this point you and your friends must really meet us. I should have preferred a seven years' contract, and so would the House of Commons. You shall have the longer time, but we must retain the right in question, which I dare say, however, will not be exercised.—Yours, etc.,

GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
August 1, 1888.

DEAR MR. GOSCHEN,—I thank you very much for your letter of the 25th ult., for which I was anxiously looking. I quite appreciate all you have done and the difficulties you have had to encounter, and I am glad to be able to tell you that I have, after much effort, been able to induce the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to agree to the terms proposed by you or rather contained in your letter to me.

I enclose an official letter from the Company to that effect, and beg, in conclusion, to again thank you for all the trouble you have taken, and to assure you that it will be fully appreciated by the Government of Canada.—Believe me, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On July 12 Sir Charles and a large number of Canadians, on the invitation of Mr. McMaster, dined at the Hôtel Métropole to celebrate the coming of age of the Dominion of Canada.

Between August 10 and August 29, 1888, Sir Charles, accompanied by Lady Tupper, made a tour of great interest through Scotland, visiting the exhibition and cathedral at Glasgow, travelling via Greenock, Rothesay, and the Crinan Canal to Oban; and passing through the great Glen of Scotland to Inverness and Aberdeen.

At Aberdeen they received a letter from Sir John Rose urging them to visit him and Lady Rose at Brahane Castle. On their return through the Caledonian Canal they were presented to King Leopold of Belgium by Count d'Outrement on board the steamer. After reaching Oban, Sir Charles dined with King Leopold on board the *Cornelice*, Mr. McKinnon's yacht, with Mr. McKinnon and Sir Francis De Winton. From Oban they went, in company with Mr. Gray and his daughter, by rail and coach to Inverary. By carriage and boat they saw Tarbert, Balloch, and Inversnaid on Loch Lomond. Coach and boat took them to the Trossachs Hotel. From coach and train they saw Callander, Killin, and the beauties of Loch Tay. They also visited Taymouth Castle. They were entertained at Mr. Gray's shooting-box, and Sir Charles, on an expedition with Mr. Gray, succeeded in shooting a hare. At Dunkeld they visited the Dowager Duchess of Athole. There they heard of the death of Sir John Rose. Saying good-bye to the Grays, they returned by train to Stirling and Edinburgh, from which point, having received a telegram from the Hon. Schomberg M'Donnell saying a letter from Lord Salisbury awaited Sir Charles, they immediately returned to London.

The recognition by the Queen of the valuable services rendered by Sir Charles in negotiating the treaty at Washington resulted in conferring additional honours upon him:

August 24, 1888.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have great pleasure in being authorised to inform you that the Queen has been pleased to confer upon you the honour of a baronetcy, in token of her appreciation of the good service you rendered to her and to the Empire at the recent Conference at Washington. The value of that service will not be affected in the end by the untoward conclusions to which the discussions of the present Senate at Washington have come.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

SALISBURY.

SIR C. TUPPER.

Work in England

97 Cromwell Road, S.W.,
September 1, 1888.

Dear Lord Salisbury,—I thank you very much for your letter of August 24, which reached me on the 30th, on my return from Scotland. I beg you to convey to the Queen my grateful appreciation of the great honour conferred upon me by Her Majesty.

The obligations under which Your Lordship has placed me by your recommendation for this high dignity have been greatly enhanced by the kind and courteous terms of your letter.

I quite concur in the opinion you express as to the value of the Treaty, notwithstanding its rejection by the Senate. The important fact remains that the President and Administration of the United States have formally expressed their cordial approval of the terms of the settlement of this vexed question, made by England and accepted by Canada and Newfoundland. The value of that declaration cannot be materially affected by the recent inconsistent and illogical message of the President.

Again thanking Your Lordship.—I remain, etc.,

Charles Tupper.

Highbury, Moor Green, Birmingham.

Dear Sir Charles,—I am very glad to be able to congratulate you on your well-deserved honours. I think the announcement most timely. I wonder what you think of President Cleveland's message and of the situation as it now stands. I cannot but hope that our labours may not be thrown away, and that after the election is over we may find that a settlement is still possible on the lines we agreed upon.

With kind regards to Lady Tupper.—Believe me, etc.,

J. Chamberlain.

St. James's Place, S.W.,
August 30, 1888.

Dear Sir Charles,—Will you and Lady Tupper accept our warmest congratulations on the additional mark of Royal favour which the morning papers announce it has pleased Her Majesty to bestow upon you. May you both live long to enjoy your well-merited honours.

Poor Rose! His death has been a great shock to me. He was almost my oldest intimate friend. I hear you are out of town and not likely to be back before next week. I am going down to Scot-

land on Wednesday, expecting to return to London before or about the 15th, and will look you up then.—Believe me, Always yours,

GEO. STEPHEN.

In a letter to Mr. Chamberlain on September 4, Sir Charles expressed his views in regard to the course taken by the President of the United States, also on the effects of the rejected Treaty.

97 CROMWELL ROAD, S.W.,
September 4, 1888.

DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN,—Many thanks for your kind congratulations upon my receiving the honour to which you have so mainly contributed.

I see the President's Message has taken you by surprise, and I confess that, familiar as I am with American politics, I was not prepared for so lame and impotent a conclusion. I expect that Cleveland found that his supposed friendliness to England was killing his chances, and, at the sacrifice of logic and consistency, he determined to go one better in that direction. He does not expect the Senate to give him the power he asks for, nor do I think he will ever use it if they do. I hope he will be re-elected all the same, and if a Treaty is ever made, it must be on the lines we have laid down. Anyway, the important fact remains that England has made a Treaty upon this vexed question, and Canada and Newfoundland ratified it—the terms of which the President and Administration of the United States have declared are just and equitable, and the Democratic party have sustained that contention.

With kind regards, in which Lady Tupper joins.—Believe me, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER.

At a banquet given in Sheffield Sir Charles responded to the toast, "The Colonies," in which he reviewed the Fisheries Treaty.

The following letters relate to this and the matter of the rejection of the Fisheries Treaty by the United States:

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
September 13, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN MACDONALD,—I enclose a report of my remarks at Sheffield and some comments of the Press.

I think the speech, which was well received, had a good effect

here. The Duke of Rutland, Lord Ashbourne, Lord Charles Beresford, Sir Henry Foster, and many others who were present thanked me in very flattering terms. I also send a copy of a letter I sent to the *Sheffield Independent* correcting some serious mistakes in reference to the Fisheries question and the comments of that paper on my letter.

I should be glad to be advised as promptly as is possible of the views and policy of the Government in such cases as the present.

The tone of the English Press has been all that you could desire.

I cannot believe that this inconsistent and unstatesmanlike action of the President is intended to do more than affect the election. I would be glad to hear when you have time just what you think on this matter.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HIGHBURY, MOOR GREEN, BIRMINGHAM,
September 7, 1888.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I must send a line to say how much I appreciate your kind words at Sheffield, and the generous feeling which prompted them.

I suppose we must not say very much about the violence of party feeling in America, as we live in glass houses.—Yours very truly,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

9 VICTORIA CHAMBERS, S.W.,
September 14, 1888.

MY DEAR SON,—As you are a member of the Cabinet, and I am so no longer, and as the responsibility for your action as such rests on you alone, I have refrained from embarrassing you with advice; but I may venture to make an exception in relation to President Cleveland's extraordinary Message on the rejection of the Treaty. I send you a copy of the remarks I made at Sheffield which have been much commented upon in this country.

I regret very much that Mr. Abbott has lost the copy of Mr. Putnam's letter, published, I think, in the Portland *Argus*; it is of the greatest value just now, and no pains should be spared to obtain a copy. He dealt in that letter with the question of transshipment of fish in a way that answers Mr. Cleveland's statement most completely. I think you have a complete copy of our papers on the Treaty question, and you will find an exhaustive one on that point, which compelled Mr. Putnam to say that as a lawyer he could not sustain Mr. Bayard's contention. As regards the question of

canal tolls, you will find the policy I urged in vain upon the Council last winter, and the course which I still think should be promptly adopted, contained in a leader in the *Montreal Gazette* of September 9, 1888. Our action, although defensible, is liable to be misunderstood, and we cannot afford that. The great value of Cameron's report on the St. Clair Flats Canals Ses. papers, 1871, and of the soundness of which I have no doubt, is now apparent. I think it would be well to publish that report in the *Empire*.

I think, as matters stand at present, that the *modus vivendi* ought to be continued, and that the *hospitable* concessions of the rejected Treaty should be continued and the protection service very carefully administered so as to give no plausible cause of complaint on the part of the United States. I cannot believe that the interruption of the Bonding system will be attempted, even if sanctioned by the Senate; but if it should, it is of great importance to obtain the hearty support of this country, and that will best be accomplished by a course of dignified moderation and forbearance on our part.

I hope the statement that the crates and packages in which *free* trees and shrubs were imported were subject to duty is not true. It would be worthy of the sharp practice of the United States respecting fish cans, but not of Canada.

We have, in this controversy, the immense advantage of being in the right, and we must not weaken that position by even pressing our undoubted rights to an extreme.

With great confidence in your ability and discretion, and still more in that of Sir John A. Macdonald, I submit these crude and imperfect suggestions, and remain,—Your loving father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On October 11 Sir Charles attended the meeting of the Imperial Institute, where he was appointed a member of the Finance, Commerce and Organising Committee. At this meeting a resolution of condolence was passed with reference to the death of Sir John Rose.

On October 27 the Queen signed a Commission giving full power to Sir Clare Ford and Sir Charles Tupper as Plenipotentiaries to negotiate a treaty with Spain in reference to trade with Canada.

On the 31st Sir Charles was appointed a director of the

Bank of British Columbia to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Sir John Rose. The fees were £500 per annum.

On January 16, 1889, Sir Charles dined at Fishmongers' Hall to meet Mr. Phelps, the American Minister, who, in the course of a very interesting speech, said: "It is a curious fact that fish has been the cause of much trouble from the time that Peter smote off the ear of the High Priest's servant down to the present day. Of course," he continued, "England and Canada got the best of the bargain at the recent negotiations carried on at Washington; yet notwithstanding the ability and skill of my friend Sir Charles Tupper, whom I am glad to see here, the difficulty is still unsettled, and I am afraid we must be forced to the conclusion that it is incapable of solution."

In his speech, among other things, Sir Charles said:

"I cannot agree with our distinguished guest that the Fisheries question is not susceptible of solution. Among the long line of diplomatists who have represented the United States in England, no one had presented the extreme contention of the United States on this question with greater force and ability than Mr. Phelps. I was amused at his facetious remark that Great Britain and Canada had got the best of the bargain. I must say confidentially that no such result could occur at Washington, where we were overwhelmed by the exhaustive festivities of the most hospitable city in the world; and, worst of all, before we had concluded our efforts our leader was captured by the Secretary of State for War. But seriously, when I am able to tell you that the six Plenipotentiaries of both countries unanimously agreed upon a Treaty that was assented to by the President and sent to the Senate for ratification, and that our distinguished guest had publicly declared that it was an honourable and just settlement and ought to be adopted, I think you will agree with me that the question is not incapable of solution. I might add that President Cleveland, who had strongly urged its ratification, was supported at the ensuing election by a popular vote of more electors than his opponent. And President Harrison, who defeated him, declared in his inaugural address that the *modus vivendi* given by the British Plenipotentiaries and enacted by the Parliament of Canada, had removed all friction between these two countries on that question."

After the dinner Mr. Phelps said to Sir Charles: "Well, I admit that you caught me fairly."

On January 24 Sir Charles attended a formal banquet at the Mansion House given to Mr. Phelps. Of it Sir Charles says in his journal: "It was one of the most representative gatherings I have ever seen."

At the request of the Lord Mayor, Sir Charles proposed the toast, "Art, Science, and Literature," and Sir Frederic Leighton, President of the Royal Academy, and Professor Lecky responded. Of the speech made by Mr. Phelps on that occasion, Sir Charles said that it was so eloquent and able that Lord Rosebery, who followed him, admitted that it was impossible for him to make a speech after listening to such an oration.

On the 29th Sir Charles dined with Mr. Fabre in Paris, and had a long and interesting conversation with Lord Lytton, who, he said, was the most popular ambassador England had ever had at Paris. Sir Charles was able to tell Lord Lytton of his father's prophecy concerning the transcontinental railway,[1] and to point out that what was then regarded as a mere dream of a brilliant novelist had already become an accomplished fact.

Sir Charles, accompanied by Lady Tupper, sailed from Southampton for New York, where they arrived on March 1. After reaching Ottawa, on entering the House of Commons, Sir Charles received a very demonstrative ovation, and had the pleasure of listening to a speech on the Budget by Sir Richard Cartwright, and also a reply by his son Charles Hibbert.

[1] See p. 61, Vol. I.

CHAPTER IX

IMPERIAL FEDERATION SUGGESTED (1889—91)

WHILE on his visit to Canada in 1889, Sir Charles opened the exhibition of the Young Men's Christian Association at Kingston, Ontario, and addressed the cadets of the Royal Military College. He also gave evidence in the arbitration between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Government. The Canadian Pacific Railway had claimed that the railway from Kamloops to Yale would require $4,000,000 to bring it up to the standard to which Sir Charles had agreed that it should be brought when the contract was signed. Sir Charles controverted this statement and pointed out that the Canadian Pacific Railway was not entitled to more than $587,000, and the arbitrators decided that this was the amount to be paid.

In December of 1888 Her Majesty had signed a Royal Commission appointing Sir Charles Tupper, Sir James King, Lord Provost of Glasgow, and Thomas Skinner, Esq., to settle the crofters in Canada. The first meeting of this Commission was held on February 7, 1889, and during the Canadian visit of this year Sir Charles spent an hour on April 20 with the crofters at Winnipeg, and on the 24th drove to Pelican Lake and spent ten hours visiting these people. On April 8 he had had an interview with Mr. Hamilton and Mr. H. H. Smith respecting the lands for the crofters.

Sir Charles, having been joined at Toronto by Lady Tupper, Mrs. Cameron, and their granddaughter Sophie, left for Vancouver, having a strong desire before return-

ing to England to see what progress the country had made. Sir Charles visited Vancouver, Victoria and Esquimalt, and made a stop at Banff, where he saw the anthracite mines and had a bath in the sulphur springs. On his return he was given an address at Winnipeg by the St. Patrick's Society at the City Hall.

On May 5 Sir Charles and Lady Tupper sailed from Montreal for Liverpool, where they arrived on the 24th.

On June 22, in the course of a speech at a dinner given by the Imperial Federation League, Sir Charles said:

"I do not think much will be accomplished by the League, or public interest maintained, until something practical is proposed and advised. I think that the Imperial Government should invite a Conference of the representatives of the autonomous Colonies to consider the best means of promoting the unity of the Empire, and when such a meeting should take place, I think a feasible policy of mutual preferential trade might be adopted."

Lord Herschell, who presided at the dinner, did not agree with Sir Charles.

As in the case of the pioneer effort for Confederation in 1864, so on this occasion Sir Charles, as a prescient statesman, had a vision of the future, and was so confident in his own judgment respecting it that, at a meeting of the Imperial Federation League on August 27, he boldly declared his disbelief in any scheme of Parliamentary federation that could possibly be devised. Instead of such a scheme he took new and advanced ground in the matter of Imperial unity. He would have, he said, representatives of the autonomous Colonies meet with Imperial representatives in London, and by adopting a preferential policy in trade, find a solution of the great question of Imperialism. The speech caused a sensation in Canada, and Sir John Macdonald wrote to Sir Charles giving expression to the surprise and dissatisfaction in some quarters which it had aroused. He asked Sir Charles to make it clear

that he had spoken as a private individual and not as High Commissioner for Canada.[1]

Sir Charles, in his reply, made it clear that the dissatisfaction was in no way justified, as he had been perfectly precise at the meeting to make it known that the views to which he had given expression were entirely his own and not those of the Canadian Government, and the matter was allowed to drop.

The following correspondence shows the wide scope of Sir Charles's duties and interests as High Commissioner:

97 Cromwell Road, S.W.,
September 30, 1889.

My dear Sir J. A. Macdonald,—I duly received your letters of August 7 and 14, and have replied some time ago to your reference to my action *re* Imperial Federation. I may say that I discussed that matter frankly and fully with Abbott and Colby a few days ago, and that they entirely agreed with me in the opinion I have already written to you.

I think your Australian Commission will do very well. I introduced Mr. Abbott to all my colleagues, and they were very much pleased with him. At Mr. Abbott's instance we all signed a letter to the Colonial Minister asking the prompt intervention of H.M. Government to prevent Hawaii giving an exclusive right to an American Company to land cables, and I have received a copy of a paper marked "Very confidential," saying that Lord Salisbury has sent a very strong protest. I think it would be very useful if you could get the C. P. R. Co. to send Mr. Kersey to Australia with your Commission. He understands the steamship question most thoroughly. You said you would send me a copy of Lord Stanley's despatch on the Behring Sea question, but I have not received it or any advice of what you are doing on that matter. Belyea's private letter (September 5) which Charlie sent me is, I think, too offensive to show to Lord Salisbury. I hesitate to approach him without your direction, and being informed of your action at Ottawa. I quite agree with Lord Stanley that "it is the duty of England to keep the seas of the world open, etc.," but when Canada suffers because it is not done, I see no reason why she should not ask England to do her duty. You express regret that the opinion of the law officers of the Crown

[1] This correspondence was published in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

here did not go earlier, but that was due to the delay of the G.G. in sending Thompson's report to the Colonial Office. As it was, I got them to act upon the cable saying it was on the way.

I am not surprised that Thompson should comment strongly upon Fleming's testimony in the C. P. R. Arbitration. I can account for it, as I have done in my re-examination here, by saying that he confused our consultations before the letting of the sections in British Columbia with those which took place after we had decided to reduce the cost of the work, and it must not be forgotten that Mr. Fleming was so hostile to the construction of a cheap road that a quarrel took place between us on that point, and he only yielded when I told him in so many words that I would get another engineer to take his place. Fleming's is not the only queer evidence on that Arbitration. It only shows how self-interest and a lapse of years can distort the memory. . . .—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

OTTAWA,
October 22, 1889.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 30th ult. Abbott will be here in a few days, and then we shall settle the terms of the communication we shall make to the Australians. My present opinion is that our delegation should be in Australia in March or April. Parliament will be called in January, and by March all the questions likely to give us trouble will have been settled, and Abbott can be spared from the leadership of the Senate. What think you as to the time?

Kersey didn't make at all a good impression here. His statements were repudiated by Anderson and not endorsed by Stephen. By the way, you will have learned that Anderson has thrown up his contract for the Atlantic steam line, and we must go on as we are for another year. It was well thought of, your taking steps to protest against Hawaii granting a monopoly to the Yankees.

You say you have had no papers relating to Behring Sea. You must surely, long ere this, have received Charlie's several minutes on the subject. All that you can do is to urge Lord Salisbury to pay particular attention to the case in his instructions to Pauncefote, and use all diplomatic means to get the United States to abandon the pretension to more than three miles from shore. I don't care to say so here, lest it might be misunderstood in British Columbia, but I confess I look with dread on the advent of a British man-of-war in the Behring Sea. A collision would not be avoided by an

American officer, perhaps courted. In such case, it might not produce actual war; but Blaine would or could make it the excuse for a cessation of diplomatic and commercial intercourse. I hear, however, that Harrison is getting impatient of the supposition that he is under Blaine's control, which is good news. I had a long talk with your American confrère Putnam last summer. He speaks well of Harrison, but doesn't see how matters are to be adjusted. The United States Senate cannot well confirm a treaty on the basis of the old one, after the rejection of the latter, and Canada can make no further concessions. If the United States Government show any signs of a willingness to renew negotiations, I have a notion that it might be well for Canada to extend the *modus vivendi* for a year. But with an increased licence fee, to show that we intend to keep control of the position, what think you of that? I have not broached the subject here at all, as it might get out. Our Council is awfully leaky. Lord Stanley is now on his Pacific tour, and will, I fear, have an unpleasant time of it on his return. The Jesuit war is apparently confined to the preachers and the Government organism.—Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

17 VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
November 13, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have yours of the 22nd ultimo. I should think the time you mention for Abbott's visit to Australia would do very well if you explain the cause of the delay. I have seen much of Kersey, and consider him a high authority on all S. S. questions, and that is what your Commissioner will want.

I am greatly concerned at the failure of Anderson's project, and especially the cause. I have written Charlie fully on that subject yesterday, and have asked him to show my letter to you and Thompson. I am sending you by this mail a copy of a letter from Mr. Goschen on this question and my reply. I think it would be well for you to write me a letter that I could show him. I think it important on many grounds that we should stand well with him.

I did not receive the copy of Lord Stanley's dispatch you asked for, or any intimation of the line you wished me to take on the Behring Sea question until the recent Minute of Council directing me to place myself in communication with the Government on the subject. As soon as I received that I arranged for a meeting with Lord Knutsford, which took place on Friday last. He spoke in terms of great admiration of Charlie's report to Council on the ques-

tion of prosecuting the matter in the Courts, and did not disguise his opinion that it completely answered Lord Salisbury's suggestion on that point. He told me under the seal of the strictest secrecy that Sir J. Pauncefote, who had been instructed to take this question up vigorously on his return to the United States, had sent a secret cable saying that his interview was satisfactory; but Lord Knutsford does not wish this to transpire, but will cable you when the dispatch is received. Lord Knutsford is thoroughly with us, but of course a Foreign Minister, especially interested when he is also Premier, has a question like this very much in his own hands. I, of course, am governed by your wishes, but I do not agree with you as to the effect of sending a British man-of-war into the Behring Sea. It would, in my opinion, close the controversy at once. Blaine could not take the course you suggest with the United States Press and jurists all against him. The United States will not go to war with any Great Power during the next fifty years. They know that the South—serene as matters look on the surface—are a conquered people, and that their best blood and treasure was sacrificed in a bootless effort for independence. But this question does not now arise, and I hope this controversy will be settled before another season.

I note what you say as to the *modus vivendi*. I think you should pass the proposed Bill and continue to issue the licences, and I certainly would not alter the fee. It is an admirable solution of the question, and a fair payment for all they get. I would not object to it as a permanent arrangement, as it has completely closed the case in every way against the United States. The only alteration I would suggest would be the addition of a clause enacting that no fees should be charged when Canadian fish and fish products were admitted free by the United States.

Ritchie, who I know has great influence at Washington, and especially with the party now in power, is confident that he can induce them to make fish free, provided Canada gives the commercial privileges now enjoyed under the *modus vivendi* without charge. In this way the question would be settled by legislation instead of by treaty, which, as you say, it would be difficult for them to make in the light of the Senate's past action.

I am very glad to hear that the Jesuit agitation is subsiding. I read your speech on the subject with great pleasure, and thought it most happy.

The Government here have appointed a committee on the question of investing Trust Funds in Colonial Inscribed Stocks, and we

are at work. I hope it will be arranged, and if so our securities will go up to a much higher figure. I will write you fully on this at an early day. With kind regards.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

In March, 1890, Sir Charles, Lady Tupper, and Mr. and Mrs. Ketchem left London for an extended tour on the Continent. After examining the Academy of Arts at Rome one day, Sir Charles, on passing his hotel, the Bristol, excused himself on account of not feeling well and went to his rooms. When the party returned they found him very ill, and Mr. Ketchem went to the Embassy to learn the name of Lord Dufferin's physician, who was Dr. Charles. He came and prescribed for Sir Charles, and then went to visit Lord Lorne, who also was ill. While Lady Tupper was sitting in the dusk of evening at her husband's bedside, she rose and opened the door in response to a gentle knock. Sir Charles recognised the voice of the Princess Louise, who said to Lady Tupper: "I believe you do not know me." Lady Tupper replied: "Oh, yes; it is the Princess Louise." The latter said: "Dr. Charles has just told me how ill Sir Charles is, and I came to see if I could do anything for you."

The Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava also called, and left her card, inquiring: "Can I do anything for you?"

After recovering from this indisposition, Sir Charles went to Florence, where, on March 30, he received a cable informing him of the death of his intimate friend Andrew Robertson, whose daughter married Sir Charles's son, J. S. Tupper. While at Florence, Professor Tito Conti painted portraits of Sir Charles and Lady Tupper.

On March 14 Sir Charles, by invitation, met Lord Rosebery, and was requested to give him his reasons for wishing to see Australia confederated. Lord Rosebery, at this meeting with Sir Charles, said that the Confederation of Canada, which was conterminous with the United States

and strongly British in feeling, was all right; but in the absence of this sentiment in Australia it was feared that Federation would lead to independence. Sir Charles told Lord Rosebery that, in his opinion, the unrest in Australia was caused by the limited scope given in the Provinces to the ambition for a larger field in which to exercise their independence, and that Federation would afford an abundant opportunity for the ablest men to occupy their attention with practical national questions. He used all his unique influence, and with the greatest success, to change the views of public men on this question. When the Agents-General expressed astonishment at the influence exercised by Sir Charles at the Colonial Office, he told them that it was because he represented the Dominion of Canada, which spoke with one voice; whereas, no sooner did one of the Agents-General make a representation to the Colonial Secretary than another would express a contrary opinion.

Here it may be said that Sir Charles believed that the great mistake made by the Australasians when effecting a Confederation, was in following the example of the United States instead of that of the Dominion of Canada.

On June 28 Lord Knutsford sent for Sir Charles, and told him that he had been informed by Lord Salisbury that a cablegram had come from Sir Julian Pauncefote, Ambassador at Washington, stating that he had learned from Mr. Blaine that United States cruisers had been sent to the Pacific coast with instructions to capture any Canadian sealers found in the Behring Sea; and that Lord Salisbury could not be induced to take any strong measures in the circumstances, as by doing so war might be the result; but that he had agreed to see Sir Charles Tupper before replying to Sir Julian Pauncefote's dispatch. On learning this, Sir Charles went immediately to the Foreign Office. Lord Salisbury was not there, but Sir Charles discussed the matter fully with the Under

Secretary, Sir Thomas Sanderson, and urged that prompt action should be taken, expressing the opinion that the United States, having agreed that the Behring Sea question should be left to an international arbitration and that no seizures should be made in the interim, would not dare to go to war. Sir Charles concluded:

"Tell Lord Salisbury that I say if, as matters now stand, the United States should be permitted to seize a Canadian vessel, it will be felt the time has already come when the British flag is not sufficient to protect our rights."

The protest had its effect, for instructions were cabled to Sir Julian Pauncefote to warn the United States Government that any seizure of Canadian vessels might lead to serious consequences.

Within an hour after the reception of this message by Mr. Blaine, the swiftest steamers on the Pacific coast were engaged to follow the cruisers with orders to recall their instructions, which orders were successfully executed.

On the same day that Sir Charles had the conversation with Lord Knutsford and visited the Foreign Office, he left for Brussels to attend a Customs Conference. He stayed at the Hotel de l'Europe at Brussels with the Agents-General representing the Australian Provinces, who were delegates to the Conference. Mr. C. M. Kennedy and Mr. Bateman represented Great Britain. After a number of conferences were held, three "Actes Diplomatiques" were signed by the delegates.

On returning to London, Sir Charles met Sir John Thompson. The occasion of the latter's visit to London may be learned from Sir John Macdonald's letters:

OTTAWA,
June 5, 1890.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I was right glad to get your note of the 7th ult. stating that Lady Tupper had much improved and that you were quite well again. Charlie had a severe attack of rheumatic gout at Washington, and I became quite nervous and unhappy about

him, but he is now looking well and working like a Trojan. You will be glad to know that he did his work at Washington exceedingly well. His only fault, if it is a fault, is that he would like to carry all his reforms in a day. But I was young once myself, although it was a long time ago. The Ontario elections are on to-day, and we will know to-night whether Mowat or Meredith is to reign there. My own belief is that Mowat will be sustained, but with a diminished majority. This *dénouement* would suit us for Dominion purposes. That is, however, *entre nous*. McCarthy has done and is doing a heap of mischief, and God knows what it may lead to. If Mowat is sustained, it ought to show those Conservatives who are caught by the "Equal Rights" cry, that they have been merely playing the Grit game and killing Meredith. You will know by cable to-morrow how the elections have gone.

I am a good deal discouraged as to our future. Not that the country has gone or is going against us, but because our Ministry is *too old* and *too long* in office. I am on the way to seventy-six. Langevin has aged very much, and is inert and useless except in office, but he doesn't move in Quebec politics.

He, Carron, and Chapleau are allowing Meredith to carry the Province away from them by their want of harmony. Costigan and Colby have their frailties, as you know. Bowell is pretty hale, and yet shows age in some degree, and I fear for Thompson's health. But enough of this.

We are advertising again for a fast Atlantic service. I suppose this mail will bring you instructions. I have told Charlie to keep you posted as to Behring Sea matters. Thompson has been so fagged and run down by the session that I am urging him to go to England and discuss copyright, Behring Sea, an addition of Canadian Judges to the Judicial Committee, and such matters, but he doesn't like the idea. . . .

Kindest regards to Lady Tupper.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

OTTAWA,
June 23, 1890.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Thompson has written you that he sails on Wednesday, 25th. He had been hard worked during one long session, and was troubled with insomnia, headaches, etc., so have persuaded him to take a trip across the ocean.

He can discuss the question of copyright with the Government.

He thoroughly understands it, and we must make a determined stand as to our exclusive right to deal with it. I want him also to urge on the Government the necessity of having the Canadian Bench represented on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

Besides these two points Charlie wants him to talk over some questions relating to the Merchants' Shipping Act. It appears the regulations as to load line and such like are not suited to our small wooden ships.

Thompson will also discuss with you the present position of the Behring Sea and Newfoundland matters. Perhaps you could contrive a joint interview with Lord Salisbury with respect to them.

I hope we shall be able to get a contract for the Atlantic Service this time. You will have seen how Mercier has swept Quebec. It does not bode well for the future. I go in a few days to R. Du Loup for six weeks.—Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

On August 1 Sir Charles went with Sir John Thompson to the Colonial Office and discussed the Behring Sea question with Lord Knutsford.

On October 20 Sir Charles met Lord Knutsford and Sir Robert Herbert at the Colonial Office. Lord Knutsford told Sir Charles that the British Government could not refuse to sanction Premier Bond's arrangement at Washington.[1] Sir Charles positively expressed his dissatisfaction with such a course. The day following Sir Robert Herbert called on Sir Charles and told him the British Government would withhold their approval.

On November 20, 1890, at a meeting of the Agents-General, a letter was agreed upon, signed and sent to Lord Knutsford, urging the denunciation of the Treaties of 1826 and 1865 with Belgium and Germany.[2]

[1] Mr. Bond had made a Treaty with the United States which virtually made Newfoundland, commercially, part of the Republic, a matter that would be most injurious to Canada.

[2] It will here be remembered that after regaining power in 1896 much discussion arose in the House of Commons at Ottawa respecting a section of the fiscal arrangements sought to be made by the Liberal Government, and that these Treaties with Belgium and Germany were declared by the Opposition to be an obstacle in the way of carrying out the proposed arrangement. The objection was found to be true, and that subsequently these Treaties, in order

It is seen by this letter that Sir Charles foresaw at this early date the obstructive character of those Treaties, and united with the Agents-General in an effort to have them denounced.

17 Victoria Street, S.W.,
November 20, 1890.

My Lord,—We desire to thank your Lordship for the intimation conveyed to us in Mr. Bramston's letter of the 10th instant, that "the Committee appointed to consider the approaching expiry, etc., of various European commercial treaties, have expressed their concurrence in the view that the Colonies should have the opportunity of stating their views respecting the effect of various European Treaties."

In accordance with Your Lordship's request, we take the opportunity of stating, for the information of the Committee, that we are all of the opinion that the Treaties with Belgium and Germany of 1826 and 1865 respectively should be terminated as soon as possible, in order that Great Britain may be in the position of being able at any time to make closer commercial arrangements with the Colonies, or any of them, without being subject to the restrictions that are contained in those Treaties. We venture to think that the importance of the matter is one that cannot be over-rated, whether regarded from the Colonial standpoint or from that of Great Britain.

We consider also that the principle should now be formally conceded by Her Majesty's Government—which has been accepted in many cases in recent years—that no Commercial Treaty should in future be binding upon the Colonies without their assent, but that every such Treaty should contain a clause enabling the Colonies to participate in its provisions, or not, as they may desire.

We shall be happy to take the opportunity, when it is afforded us, of appearing before the Committee to personally explain our views upon the whole question, and, in the meantime, may state that a copy of Mr. Bramston's letter has been submitted to our respective Governments in order that we may have their further

to make the Canadian Legislation preferential in favour of Great Britain, were denounced. But the Government of the day did not share in this view. At the Imperial Conference in 1897 Mr. Chamberlain told the Premiers of Canada and Australia that if they would join in asking the denunciation of those Treaties, it would be done. They did all join in such a resolution, and the Treaties were denounced.

instructions upon the subject.—We are, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble servants,

(*Signed*) CHARLES TUPPER, *High Commissioner for Canada.*
„ ARTHUR BLYTH, *Agent-General for South Australia.*
„ SAUL SAMUEL, *Agent-General for New South Wales.*
„ F. D. BELL, *Agent-General for New Zealand.*
„ CHARLES MILLS, *Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope.*
„ GRAHAME BERRY, *Agent-General for Victoria.*
„ THOS. ARCHER, *Agent-General for Queensland.*
„ C. BRADDON, *Agent-General for Tasmania.*

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT KNUTSFORD, etc.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

During the summer of 1890 Sir Charles, Lady Tupper and Miss Sophie Cameron dined with Sir Whittaker and Lady Ellis at Buccleugh House, Richmond, where they met the Duke and Duchess of Teck, and their daughter who afterwards married the second son of the Prince of Wales, now King George V.

On July 26 Sir Charles dined with Lord Aberdeen at Dollis Hill. Sir Charles was requested to take a young lady in to dinner and sit next Lady Aberdeen. He found this young lady very intelligent, and was surprised at her thorough acquaintance with the controversy then going on between the British and Canadian Governments regarding the copyright question. Expressing his astonishment to the young lady that she was so well informed on this difficult and involved subject, and that she so strongly took the Canadian side, she told him that she had typewritten Sir John Thompson's argument on that question. She proved to be the Duchess of Aberdeen's typist.

Early in January, 1891, Sir Charles and Lady Tupper, by invitation, went to Knowsley to spend a week at Lord Derby's, where they met a large party of visitors. Sir Charles took Lady Derby in to dinner. She expressed much surprise that her brother, Sir Sackville West, should

have been imposed upon by Murchison[1] in regard to the Presidential election, as he was usually so very cautious. The next morning the Earl invited Sir Charles to take a walk in the park. As they were returning the butler came running up to them breathless, and told Lord Derby that the Duke of Bedford was dead. The Countess of Derby, who was the Duke's sister, left immediately for London, and the guests, though invited to remain, left for their homes. The Duke of Bedford had committed suicide.

On the 22nd Sir Charles received the following cable from Sir John A. Macdonald:

OTTAWA,
January 21, 1891.

Immediate dissolution almost certain. Your presence affect election contest in Maritime Provinces essential to encourage our friends. Please come. Answer.

Sir Charles replied, "Yes," and left for Ottawa, where he arrived on February 6.

[1] This referred to a successful attempt by an Englishman, professedly, named Murchison, to involve the British representatives, to their disadvantage, in the Presidential election. By letter he had, with apparent innocence, asked Sir Sackville's opinion about voting. Sir Sackville, regarding it as genuine, in reply indicated his advice. The same kind of a letter was received by Sir Charles Tupper; but he was so thoroughly informed with regard to the possibilities of scheming American politicians, that he was not caught in the trap. When the matter of Sir Sackville West's advice was published in the newspapers it was so offensive to one party of American politicians that he was unceremoniously dismissed.

CHAPTER X

A WHIRLWIND ELECTION CAMPAIGN—DEATH OF SIR J. A. MACDONALD (1891)

WHEN, in 1889, Sir Charles Tupper resumed the position of High Commissioner, he withdrew from both Parliament and the Cabinet, and was appointed under salary. This being the case, he felt that some explanation was necessary of his return to Canada to engage in the strife of party politics while still holding the High Commissionership. Of this, he said:

"Although I considered it improper, under ordinary circumstances, for the High Commissioner, except when a member of the Government, to act as a partisan, I could not refuse, as the Opposition had proclaimed the policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, which involved the adoption of the United States tariff by Canada against all the world, including England, and which, in my opinion, must lead to the Dominion becoming a part of that country."

This explanation was given to interviewers and from a number of platforms during the contest which followed.

Great and complicated changes, most menacing to the success of the Conservatives, had taken place, and were fully recognised by both political parties. The McKinley Bill, greatly increasing the duties on the natural products of Canada, had been adopted by the United States. It was evident that its objects were not solely for the purpose of protecting manufactures, nor for the purpose of revenue; and it was believed in Canada that this change of tariff was intended so to embarrass Canadian trade as to compel

the Dominion to seek for annexation with the United States. It was a heavy blow to the trade of the country.

In these circumstances, two men, Erastus Wiman and Edward Farrer, allied themselves with interested parties in the United States and in Canada to initiate and carry into execution a plan for commercial union or unrestricted reciprocity; while Senator Sherman, Chairman of the Senate Committee for Foreign Relations at Washington, in a speech before the Senate, said:

"I submit if the time has not come when the people of the United States and Canada should take a broader view of their relations to each other than has heretofore seemed practicable. Our whole history since the conquest of Canada by Great Britain in 1760 has been a continuous warning that we cannot be at peace with each other except by political as well as commercial union. The future of Canada should have followed the fortunes of the Colonies in the American Revolution. . . . The way to union with Canada is not by hostile legislation; not by hopes of retaliation, but by friendly overtures. This union is one of the events that must inevitably come in the future. . . . The true policy of this Government is to tender freedom in trade and intercourse, and to make this tender in such a fraternal way that it should be an overture to the Canadian people to become a part of this Republic."

A number of leading men, holding these views, united with Mr. Erastus Wiman, Mr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. Edward Farrer and Mr. Honoré Mercier in a deliberate plan to bring about annexation by means of unrestricted reciprocity.

Then, again, there was the disturbing question of the "Jesuit Act"—an Act passed in 1889 under Mr. Mercier, as Premier in Quebec, to restore to the Jesuit order a large sum of money to reimburse them for the confiscation of their property in that Province which had taken place many years before. The hostility to Romanism among the Orangemen was rekindled, and a widespread effort was made to induce the Dominion Government not to allow the Act to go into operation. A society, called the "Equal Rights Society," was organised, and a campaign of agitation was commenced

and carried on with great vigour. The alleged outstanding evil was the undue influence of Romanism in the Dominion. As the Jesuits' Estate Bill was not disallowed, the agitation created a large amount of opposition to the Government. It was sought to give additional force to this charge by the fact that Sir John Thompson, a Roman Catholic, was at the time Minister of Justice, and gave it as his opinion that it was *ultra vires* for the Cabinet to recommend a disallowance of the Act.

During the four years since the last general election the Opposition, under the new leadership of Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, had not ceased to denounce the Conservative protective tariff. This agitation, conducted by such able men as Sir Richard Cartwright, the Hon. Edward Blake, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, the Hon. Oliver Mowat, and many other men of exceptional talent, had, no doubt, affected adversely the investment of capital to develop the resources and carry on the industries of the country. It also embarrassed and hindered a successful immigration policy.

Such were the circumstances and conditions in Canada when Sir Charles Tupper arrived in Ottawa on February 6, 1891. At Sir John Macdonald's request, he left for Kingston —Sir John's constituency—the next morning, where he addressed a large nomination meeting in the place of Sir John, who was not able to attend.

Sir John was elected by a larger majority than he had ever before received.

On returning to Ottawa, Sir Charles fully discussed political matters with Sir John. In this discussion it was plain to them that the Opposition platform of free trade with the United States involved a tariff for Canada, dictated at Washington, against all the world, including England. The Government had a counter-plan, which is hereby indicated.

In the correspondence with the United States Govern-

ment, Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, had asked upon what basis the Dominion Government proposed to negotiate. The following dispatch, which Sir John A. Macdonald caused to be sent to Lord Knutsford, through the Governor-General, for transmission to Washington, was the reply :

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA,
December 13, 1890.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to send to your Lordship to-day a telegraphic message in cipher, of which the following is the substance :—

With reference to my telegram of the 10th inst., this Government is desirous to propose a joint Commission, such as that of 1871, with authority to deal without limitation, and to prepare a treaty respecting the following subjects :—

1. Renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, with the modifications required by the altered circumstances of both countries and with the extensions deemed by the Commission to be in the interests of Canada and the United States.

2. Reconsideration of the Treaty of 1888 with respect to the Atlantic Fisheries, with the aim of securing the free admission into the United States market of Canadian fishery products, in return for facilities to be granted to United States fishermen to buy bait and supplies and to tranship cargoes in Canada, all such privileges to be mutual.

3. Protection of mackerel and other fisheries on the Atlantic Ocean and in inland waters ; also

4. Relaxation of seaboard coasting laws of the two countries.

5. Relaxation of the coasting laws of the two countries on the inland waters dividing Canada from the United States.

6. Mutual salvage and saving of wrecked vessels.

7. Arrangements for settling boundary between Canada and Alaska.

The Treaty would, of course, be *ad referendum.*

Commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity, was the battle-cry of the Liberals from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and continued protection of Canadian industries with reciprocal trade, as indicated in the dispatch of Lord Lansdowne to Lord Knutsford, was the Government policy.

The sentiments and influences heretofore indicated

against the Government had given assurance to the Liberal party that the campaign of 1891 would result in victory for them, and naturally there was corresponding depression in the Government ranks from ocean to ocean.

After leaving Ottawa, Sir Charles consulted with Sir Donald Smith at Montreal, passed on to Amherst, spoke an hour and a half at a public meeting, and reached Halifax at 9 o'clock the next morning. There he received a telegram from Sir John A. Macdonald, saying:

"If you can be spared, want you up here. Should be here to attend meeting at Toronto on the 17th."

Sir Charles replied that he would take a special train for Toronto as soon as he had spoken at Halifax on Saturday evening. He addressed a large meeting in the drill-shed, took a train at half-past ten on Saturday night, and reached Toronto at seven on the morning of the 16th.

On the 18th, in company with Sir John, Sir Charles went to Hamilton. No hall was found large enough to accommodate the people, and it became necessary to use two halls. While Sir John spoke in one, Sir Charles addressed the people in the other, and vice versa. Sir Charles's first speech was two hours long, and the other one an hour and a half. The next day they went to Strathroy, where Sir Charles spoke an hour and a half, and on the following day they reached London at 9 p.m., and met an audience of four thousand in the drill-shed, which Sir Charles addressed for two hours. By this time Sir John was much exhausted, and would not allow Sir Charles to stop speaking any sooner. Sir John followed in a brief speech at 12 o'clock at night. On the following morning Sir Charles left London, and reached Windsor at 2 p.m. He was so exhausted that he had to take to his bed at the home of J. C. Patterson, but at 9 o'clock in the evening he spoke to five thousand people until 12.30. He and Sir John had parted at London.

The headlines of the speech at Windsor, reported in a

supplement of *The Empire,* proclaim the onrushing force and heated zeal of the Conservative party under the leadership of their field-marshal—Sir Charles Tupper.

In this masterly oration Sir Charles laid under tribute the history of United Canada in her relations to the United States and Great Britain, as far as all this could be focused on the subject of an overt attempt to seduce and betray Canada into the hands of the Republic to the south, and, on the other hand, to bring upon the heads of the betrayers the displeasure of an aroused and avenging patriotic loyalty. This indictment, flowing from a personality as irresistible as a moving mountain, and from a heart fervid with loyalty, aroused and electrified the hearers.

The Press and platform men of both parties, in all parts of the Dominion, were valiant in this, Canada's fifth general election campaign, which ended in a win for the Conservatives by the small majority of twenty-three.

At 1 o'clock on the morning after speaking at Windsor, Sir Charles left for Ottawa, where he arrived at seven the next morning. He there called upon the Hon. William McDougall, who had given him Mr. Erastus Wiman's letter to Mr. Farrer, and Wiman's letter to Mr. Hitt. They had been sent to Mr. McDougall by Mr. Wiman. At Sir John Macdonald's request, Sir Charles saw Mr. Seargeant and urged him to let the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway vote as they might choose. He then proceeded to Quebec, and spoke an hour and a half on the nomination of candidates, which took place that day, after which he left for Nova Scotia, and on the 28th attended the funeral of William Fullerton, Registrar of Probate at Amherst.

On March 2 Sir Charles went to Mill Village, Parrsboro', where he redeemed his pledge to Mr. A. R. Dickey, who was ill in New York, by speaking for an hour and a half. Returning to Springhill, he addressed a meeting for an hour and a half, and visited Pugwash, Amherst, and Joggins Mines, where he addressed a meeting.

A Whirlwind Election Campaign

On March 5 Sir Charles went to Halifax, and voted for Kenny and Stairs. Nova Scotia returned fifteen supporters for the Administration, and five for the Opposition. Mr. Fielding abandoned his policy of taking Nova Scotia out of the Confederation.

On returning to Amherst, Sir Charles's great and continuous labours compelled him to take to his bed, but on the 9th he was able to speak there in the music hall. Before making this speech he received a telegram from Sir John Macdonald, saying that the Grand Trunk Railway had done all in their power against the Government. In his speech at Amherst he denounced that company in very strong terms. Then, with his son, Charles Hibbert Tupper, and Sir John Thompson, he left for Ottawa.

During this campaign Sir Charles travelled 3,722 miles between different points in Canada. To him was accorded the credit of carrying the election of 1891 in favour of the Conservative party, and it seems that this judgment was correct.

At all the places where he spoke the effectiveness of his platform power was apparent. An article which he wrote on March 21 for the *North American Review,* entitled "The Wiman Conspiracy Unmasked," indicates the spirit and power with which he worked in the campaign of 1891.

Sir Charles's attack at Amherst on the course pursued by the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway in the election campaign called forth a reply in the London *Times* from Sir Henry Tyler, Chairman of the Grand Trunk Railway Board, to which Sir Charles made a spirited rejoinder.

The centre of the sensation caused by Sir Charles's attack on Sir Henry Tyler was among the shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway. The warm discussion of the subject at their meetings led to the resignation of the chairman. A part of the speech Sir Charles made at Amherst, and which led to the newspaper duel between him and Sir Henry Tyler, was published in *The Empire.*

Immediately after the election the Government made a request that Sir Charles should visit Mr. Blaine at Washington, with a view to the bringing about of a reciprocity treaty. For this purpose he left Ottawa on April 1, and after reaching Washington, called upon Sir Julian Pauncefote, whose hospitality at the Embassy, in response to an urgent request, he accepted. The Ambassador and Sir Charles arranged with Mr. Blaine to begin negotiations on the following Monday, Sir Charles having Sir John Thompson and Mr. Foster associated with him. Sir Charles returned to Ottawa, and discussed the subject of the proposed treaty with the Cabinet. On leaving for Washington, Sir John's last words to him were: "Good luck to you."

On April 5 Sir Charles, Sir John Thompson, and Mr. Foster had an interview with Mr. Blaine, who told them that when he informed the President of the arrangement he had made to meet the Canadian delegates, the President asked him to postpone the negotiations until he returned from a trip he had promised to take, as he wanted to be in Washington when these negotiations were going on. Sir Julian Pauncefote had attempted to let Sir Charles know by telegraphing to Ottawa what had taken place, but Sir Charles had left before the telegram arrived.

Sir Charles left for England, and arrived in Liverpool on April 15.

The propriety of the High Commissioner taking an active part in the Dominion elections, on which subject Sir Charles had expressed his own views, was raised in the Committee of the House by the Hon. Mr. Patterson, who attacked the Government for the part taken by Sir Charles in the last election. In reply, Sir John Macdonald said:

"Well, Mr. Chairman, I cannot resist the seductive tones of my honourable friend, and I must answer him. Sir Charles did go to Kingston, and at my request, and made a speech at my instance, and I fancy the speech was one of considerable influence, because

in the previous election I was elected by a majority of 17 ; but after Sir Charles Tupper made his speech I was elected by a majority that lacked only 17 of being 500. I will go a little further," said Sir John, " and will say that Sir Charles Tupper came out from England to give us the advantage of his skill and influence and eloquence at my special request."

On May 29 Mr. Wilfrid Laurier submitted the following resolution :

"Resolved that the conduct and language of Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner of Canada in England, in interfering in the recent elections and in imputing treasonable and disloyal motives to a large proportion of the people of this Dominion, and who is assailing and vilifying the Manager of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and is reflecting on the position of the said Company, is a breach of the duties of the office which he fills, and is calculated to destroy the efficiency of said office and to injure the credit of the Dominion, besides damaging a very important corporation whose shareholders have invested large sums of money in the work of extending and promoting the railway system of Canada."

After a discussion, in which Sir John Thompson and Charles Hibbert Tupper took part, the resolution was defeated by a majority of 21.

Sir Charles was honoured by a banquet given at the Charing Cross Hotel, which was attended by seventy gentlemen, including a large number of Peers and Members of the House of Commons of both the Liberal and Conservative parties. Lord Brabourne presided, and Sir Charles responded to the toast, " The Canadian Government."

On May 28 Sir Charles, as representative of Canada at an International Conference on Postal Affairs, left London for Vienna. After a dinner at the Hofburg Palace, the members of the Conference were presented to the Emperor, and were all invited by the Emperor's Ministers to attend an opera that evening. But Sir Charles, having received a cable saying that Sir John Macdonald was very ill, declined the invitation.

Sir Charles received an unofficial telegram asking him if in the event of Sir John's death, which was certain, he would accept the nomination for Kingston. His reply was:

"Thanks. Have no intention of re-entering Parliament."

After attending a meeting of the Postal Conference, Sir Charles received in cipher the following telegram from his son, C. H. Tupper:

"Sir John dying. Rumour of cabal against you in favour of Thompson. I propose to resign if he is elected pending vote of censure [of Sir Charles as High Commissioner for taking part in the General Election] and party's ingratitude to you."

To this cable Sir Charles replied:

"In case of lamented death of Premier I hope you will give hearty support to Thompson. As I told you at Ottawa, nothing would induce me to accept the position."

VIENNA,
June 4, 1891.

MY DEAR SON,—I, as you know, felt the deepest personal attachment for our great leader, Sir John A. Macdonald, but I myself did not know how much I loved him, until on my arrival here last Saturday I learned that he was struck down by illness. The news was then reassuring, and I attended the dinner at the Hofburg Palace with the Emperor and King at 4 o'clock, but refused the invitation of the Ministers for the theatre that evening, and all invitations since.

It now seems that there is no hope. How mysterious are the ways of Providence! Never in his long and useful life have his invaluable services been so important to Canada and to the Empire, and God alone knows what the consequences to both may be.

I received your telegram saying that there was a disposition in certain quarters that Sir John Thompson should succeed him, with great satisfaction and a strong sense of personal relief. You know I told you long ago, and repeated to you when last in Ottawa, that nothing could induce me to accept the position in case the Premiership became vacant. I told you that Sir John looked up wearily from his papers and said to me, "I wish to God you were in my place," and that I answered, "Thank God I am not." He afterwards, well knowing my determination, said he thought Thompson, as matters now stood, was the only available man. Of course, he had in view the charges that were made against Langevin, and still pending. Had

it been otherwise and I had been in Parliament, I would have given him my support, as you well know. When the terrible blow came, I naturally dreaded that my old colleagues and the party for whom I have done so much might unite in asking me to take the leadership, and I felt that in that case a serious responsibility would rest upon me. Believing as I do that compliance would have involved a material shortening of the few years, at the most, remaining to me, you can imagine, my dear son, the relief with which I learned that I was absolved from any such responsibility, and able to assure your dear mother that all danger was past. Your course, my dear son, is to think only of your duty to Canada, and that is to give your support to whomsoever can combine the members of the party in the greatest degree. I need not tell you how glad I should be if our mutual friend Thompson should be the man. His great ability, high legal attainments, forensic powers, and, above all, his personal character, all render his choice one of which our party and country should be proud.

It was a strange coincidence that about eleven o'clock on Wednesday night, the 27th inst., I concluded my speech in response to a toast, at a banquet given to myself by a large number of Peers and Members of the House of Commons of both parties, by a eulogium upon Sir John A. Macdonald, when by a slip of the tongue I used the words, " and now at the close of his long and useful life," which I immediately corrected by expressing the hope that he would be spared many years to serve his country as he had done in the past. While this prayer—for such it was—was enthusiastically cheered by the Lord Mayor, three ex-Secretaries of State for the Colonies of both parties, and many Members of the House of Commons, both Liberal and Conservative, my dear friend appears to have been struck by the fatal shaft, and our prayer denied. We can only bow with submission, knowing that the blow came from One who doeth all things well. Let us all endeavour to work as untiringly and as unselfishly for the progress and prosperity of our country as Sir John has done, and, come what may, we will be consoled, as he has been, by the conviction that we have done our duty.

It is a source of great satisfaction to me in this sad hour to feel that through good and evil report I have stood at his side, and in sunshine and in storm have done all in my power to sustain and aid him in the great work to which he has, since first we met, devoted so successfully all his great powers. He has left a bright example for us to follow ; let us endeavour to emulate him as far as we can, and we will deserve well of our country.—Your loving father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On June 7 Sir Charles received this cable:

"Sir John died peacefully at 10.15 last night."

He immediately cabled Sir John's son Hugh:

"Please convey to Lady Macdonald and accept yourself the sincere sympathy of my wife and myself on the irreparable loss Lady Macdonald, yourself, and Canada have sustained."

Sir Charles attended all the meetings of the Postal Conference, which he addressed in French, but on account of Sir John's illness and death, declined all invitations to social functions. He communicated the following to the "Correspondence Bureau" on June 7, for insertion in the Austrian and German Press:

"Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, died at 10.15 Saturday night from an attack of apoplexy which occurred in the night of the 26th May. He has been a conspicuous figure in the Parliament of Canada during the last fifty years, and he has been Prime Minister since the confederation of British North America (1867) with the exception of five years from 1873 to 1878. In consequence of the agitation for free trade with the United States, involving discrimination against Great Britain, although in his seventy-seventh year, he dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country in opposition to that policy in January last. His great exertions during that contest were too much for his age and strength, and he has fallen a martyr to the policy of maintaining indissolubly the connection between Canada and Great Britain; but not until he had planted firmly the standard of No Discrimination against England on the ramparts of the country."

After prolonged discussion, the Honourable John Abbott, Senator, was elected Premier. His appointment was criticised in the Commons by Mr. Laurier, on a motion to adjourn, which was negatived by a majority of 20.

Sir Charles returned from Vienna, via Munich, Salsburg, Nuremberg, Cologne and Brussels, reaching London on June 19, and soon after was appointed representative

of the Canadian Government on the governing body of the Imperial Institute.

On July 6, at a large meeting of the Imperial Federation League held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Sir Charles spoke for more than an hour in support of the resolution to appoint a committee to devise a scheme by which the objects of the League might be secured.

The Committee appointed by the League consisted of Sir Lyon Playfair, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Daniel Cooper, Sir John Colomb and Mr. Bryce. They sent a large number of circulars of inquiry to gentlemen in Great Britain and the Colonies, and after the replies had been received they made their report.

In the October number of the *Nineteenth Century*,[1] Sir Charles, in an article entitled "Federating the Empire: a Colonial Plan," put forward a practical proposal in the following passage:

"When that (the confederation of Australasia and South Africa) is accomplished, the measure which the Marquis of Lorne has suggested, of having the representatives of these Colonies during their term of office here in London, practically Cabinet Ministers, will give to the Government of England an opportunity of learning in the most direct and complete manner the views and sentiments of each of those great British communities in regard to a question of foreign policy affecting the Colonies. . . . That would involve no constitutional change. It would simply require that whoever represented those Dominions in London should have a seat in their own Parliament and be a member of the Administration."

This proposal of Sir Charles was adopted by the Council of the League, and the President approached the Prime Minister upon the subject. Lord Salisbury saw difficulties in the way, and before any further progress was made an important circumstance arose bearing very strongly upon the question of an Imperial Federation of those great Colonies. Lord Rosebery, with the assent of the Council

[1] Reprinted in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

of the League, made an announcement at the Mansion House, that the League proposed to defer the question of a Conference pending the local federation discussion.

In Sir Charles's journal is found this record : " July 13. Mr. Ashworth, manager of the Bank of Montreal, told me that he had been requested by the directors of the General Mining Association to ascertain if I would accept a seat at the Board of Directors of that company. He said they required me to attend a meeting only once a fortnight, and I accepted.

" I had to buy fifty shares to qualify as a director, and was surprised to find that they cost only £4 for a £7 share. Having satisfied myself that the investment was a very good one, I instructed the agents to buy any stock that came on the market for me, which was only when a shareholder died, and I continued to purchase until I had 700 shares. When I re-entered the Canadian Cabinet in 1896, I resigned my seat as a director. I had then received in dividends and returned capital more than the stock cost me, and when the company sold out to the Nova Scotia Coal and Steel Company, I received over £9,000 more.

" July 15. I received a cable announcing the marriage of my granddaughter, Sophie Cameron, to my friend C. H. Gray."

CHAPTER XI

PREFERENTIAL TRADE AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION (1891—93)

THE sudden illness and death of Sir John A. Macdonald was in itself a disturbing event for the Conservative party, but coincident with it was another occurrence which helped to distract the Government. When Sir Charles Tupper resigned his portfolio in 1888 and returned to England as High Commissioner, his correspondence with the Government brings out the fact that an understanding existed that Sir Hector Langevin should be the successor of Sir John Macdonald in the Premiership of Canada. But before Sir John passed away, Israel Tarte, M.P., submitted papers to the House of Commons revealing a case of alleged dishonesty in the Department of Public Works, of which Sir Hector Langevin was Minister. The public trial of Messrs. McGreevy and Connoly, instituted by the Government and superintended by Sir John Thompson, as Minister of Justice, led to the belief that Sir Hector Langevin had been negligent in the discharge of his duties, thereby giving opportunity to dishonest men to defraud the Government. The investigation of this charge, which took place about the time of the Premier's death, destroyed Sir Hector's claim to be Sir John's successor. Indeed, it created in the political drama of Canada a scene at once tragic and pathetic. The Premier was on his death-bed, and the prospective Premier dying or dead as a political leader. Sir John S. D. Thompson, with the habit of the judge, was prosecuting the case in the Department of Public Works, and this, too, against a co-religionist, a senior member of the Cabinet. It was a sudden end of transient honour.

Fortunate indeed it was for Canada, at this early stage in her history, that Sir John Macdonald, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Edward Blake, Charles Tupper, Sir John Thompson and others, all incorruptible men, were at the head of national affairs. Sir Charles, in this time of confusion, stress and strife, may be seen in a letter to Donald Macmaster written in reply to a suggestion that he should allow himself to be put at the head of affairs:

97 Cromwell Road, S.W.,
October 21, 1891.

My dear Mr. Macmaster,—I have deferred answering your kind letter because I expected the Government would require me to go to Washington, and I would much prefer seeing you than writing. I think I had some reason to fear that I would be called upon to lead the party, but I am very glad that responsibility was not placed upon me, and now nothing would induce me to undertake the task and shorten the few years that may remain to me in struggling with selfishness and ingratitude. I have no feeling of hostility to the G. T. R., or even Sir H. Tyler or Mr. Seargeant. I undertook the disagreeable duty of exposing the conspiracy which they had entered into with Laurier, Mercier, and the Opposition in Ontario to destroy the Government, as I felt that they would soon succeed if it was not exposed. My object has been attained. Mercier cannot obtain money, and Tyler was forced to his knees, and had to consent to the reconstruction of his board or go out. The presence of my friend Mr. McIntyre on the Board is a guarantee that its power will not be again abused in support of an anti-British party, and my hostility is at an end. A death-blow has been given to annexation in the guise of unrestricted reciprocity, and I hope that those who have so courageously undertaken to lead the party will prove equal to the task. We must hope for the best, and I feel sure that after what I have done for them you would not demand that I should make any further sacrifices.—With many thanks, Believe me, etc.,

Charles Tupper.

In June, 1891, Sir Charles was busily engaged in the interests of the Dominion. On the 27th he spoke at a meeting of the United Empire Trade League, and on the 28th at the Conference of Chambers of Commerce of the

Empire. At the latter, Mr. G. W. Medley, of the London Chamber of Commerce, moved:

"That in the opinion of this Congress any fiscal union between the Mother Country and her colonies and dependencies, by means of preferential duties, being based on Protection, would be politically dangerous and economically disastrous, and that the arrangement which, more than any other, would conduce to an intimate commercial union, would be by our self-governing Colonies adopting, as closely as circumstances will permit, the non-protective policy of the Mother Country."

To this Sir Charles moved an amendment, which, as subsequently altered by consent, read:

"That in order to extend the exchange and consumption of the home staple products in every part of the British Empire, a slight differential duty, not exceeding 5 per cent., should be adopted by the Imperial and Colonial Governments in favour of certain productions against the foreign imported articles."

This led to a debate which lasted two days, and to an article by Sir Charles on "The Question of Preferential Tariffs" in *The Fortnightly Review*, in which the whole question was dealt with.

This amendment was defeated by 55 to 33. It had, however, for its support the opinions of Hon. James Service, for a long time Premier of Victoria; his successor, the Hon. Alfred Deakin; Sir John Downer, Premier of South Australia; Sir Samuel Griffith, Premier of Queensland; Sir Robert Thorburn, late Premier of Newfoundland; Sir William FitzHerbert, Speaker of the Legislative Council of New Zealand; Sir John Robinson, who spoke for South Africa; and the Hon. Mr. Dibbs, Premier of New South Wales. A number of Chambers of Commerce were also in favour of it.[1]

The following letters indicate the further consideration of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States which was

[1] In 1909 Sir Charles Tupper published a "History of Preferential Trade" in *Britannia* for September, which was afterwards issued in pamphlet form.

attempted in a preliminary way at the close of the first Parliament, after the election of 1891, when Sir Charles Tupper, the Hon. John S. D. Thompson and Mr. G. E. Foster were sent to Washington. But, as shown in an earlier chapter, they were not able to accomplish anything. The Premier wrote to Sir Charles on September 19 stating that the question of the personnel of the delegation to be sent to Washington was under discussion, and, more particularly, whether he and Sir Charles should be "troubled" to join it. To this, the following reply was sent:

17 Victoria Street, S.W.,
October 6, 1891.

My dear Mr. Abbott,—I received last Thursday your letter informing me that you and your colleagues thought it best under the circumstances that I should not go to Washington to renew the negotiations I had opened with Mr. Blaine in April last, but adding you would like to have my views before deciding. I cabled you immediately that "I had no wish to question the opinion you and your colleagues had formed." You are, of course, aware of the fact that when I was most anxious, on account of my wife's health, to return here after the elections, Lord Stanley and Sir J. A. Macdonald insisted that I should go to Washington. They said that my having succeeded in negotiating the Washington Treaty of 1888, when no one supposed such a thing possible, and the widespread opinion that I was more anxious for freer trade relations with the United States than the Government of Canada, made it imperative that I should undertake that mission, as otherwise it would be maintained that the Government were not sincere in the principal issue upon which they had appealed to the people.

My interview with Mr. Blaine was of a very encouraging character, and I imagine that no one doubted that I would be associated with the resumption of the negotiations. Personally I had no desire to go to Washington; but I cannot, as you have requested my views, conceal from you my opinion that all the reasons for my being sent there last April exist now in still greater force. You say quite truly that this is merely a preliminary discussion to ascertain whether formal negotiations can be taken up with advantage; but as everything depends therefore upon the result of this discussion, it is of vital importance that no effort should be spared to ensure success at the outset.

I can assure you that no one will rejoice more than myself if success should crown the efforts of Sir John Thompson and Mr. Foster; but if their mission ends in failure I fear the Government will be charged with not having done all that was possible to avoid such a contingency.

I regret very much that I have not had the advantage of a full and free discussion of all our important trade questions with you and your colleagues, but will venture to submit my views for your consideration in a few days.—In the meantime, I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Sir Charles was not asked to go to Washington.

Another important subject, involving the interests of Canada, engaged the attention of the Government and of the High Commissioner about this time. In a letter to the Cabinet from Sir Charles may be found the following extracts:

17 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,
October 16, 1891.

DEAR MR. ABBOTT,—. . . I have taken the line all along that there was nothing in the Treaties in question to prevent any mutual commercial arrangement between the Colonies themselves, or indeed any reciprocity treaty between any of the Colonies and a foreign country, provided that any concessions that were granted were not extended to the Mother Country. In this latter event, it would, of course, be obligatory, so long as the Belgian and German Treaties remain in force, to give the same advantage to Belgium and Germany, and also to other countries with whom Great Britain has most-favoured-nation treaties. This view, I may tell you, was accepted by the Committee, and they so informed a subsequent delegation from the Imperial Federation League. For some reason or other the report of the Committee has not yet been published, and I have, therefore, been unable to transmit to you officially a report of my evidence. . . .

You will be aware from Lord Salisbury's replies to the deputation which recently waited upon him that he is fully alive to the difficulties that have been created by what he terms "those unlucky treaties," and I trust that his well-known skill and ability will be devoted to removing them at an early date. You will, of course, however, understand that it is not so easy as one would wish to move in international matters of this kind, where other countries are concerned.

I may tell you that there is undoubtedly a growing feeling in this country in favour of giving some discrimination to colonial products, especially in the ranks of the Conservative and Unionist parties. It is not likely to take any immediate shape in view of the approaching general election, and of a natural disinclination on the part of the Government to make any change which would lay them open to the charge of departing from the principles of Free Trade, but after the General Election I quite expect that there will be a considerable movement, if not agitation, in the direction I have indicated, although it is not possible to forecast exactly the turn it will take. I wish you had found it practicable to mention in your speech that the Government would be prepared, supposing the objectionable treaties were modified or abrogated, to extend preferential treatment to imports from Great Britain, in return for a similar concession on their part to Canadian exports.

I am sorry that I have not had an opportunity of discussing these trade questions with you personally; but I shall be much gratified if you can find time to let me have your views upon the points I have mentioned.—I remain, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Here is found the beginning of preferential trade with Great Britain, which after twenty years exists only in a one-sided form, Canada giving England a preference but England withholding preference for Canada.

An able speech given by Sir Charles at the dinner of the Associated Chambers of Commerce was prefaced in the following manner by a reference to the result of the General Election of Canada:

"I am glad to be able to say that so far as theDominion of Canada is concerned I am in a position to state that it was never in a more prosperous and more promising condition than it is to-day. Some things have occurred since I last had the pleasure of meeting the Associated Chambers of Commerce, in which, I think, they are greatly interested. One event of no small importance has been the General Election that occurred last year in the Dominion of Canada. I do not wish, for a single moment, to abuse your kindness by referring to matters of party politics, as such, on an occasion like this; but I will venture to say that no electoral contest that has ever occurred in any part of the outlying portions of the British Empire has been fraught with greater interest to the Associated Chambers

of Commerce than the election to which I have referred. The Opposition party in that country adopted the policy of free trade with the United States of America, involving the same discriminative and prohibitive tariff as that of the United States against this country, and I am proud to be able to tell you that although the people were, many of them, smarting under the influence of the McKinley tariff, which struck a serious blow, and which was intended to strike a vital blow at the loyalty and integrity of that portion of the Empire, although smarting under that blow, the loyal spirit of the people of Canada met the emergency. The people of Canada went into the battle 'for connection with the Mother Country and No Discrimination,' and have given to the Government, notwithstanding the difficulties to which I have alluded, a fair working majority of 25, in a House of 215 members. Twenty-five of the gentlemen who were elected to oppose the Government were unseated by the Courts, and this gave the people of Canada, in a large number of constituencies, many of them in Ontario, especially affected by the McKinley tariff, a chance of exhibiting their sober second thoughts, and the result is that although a number of those by-elections have not yet taken place, that majority of 25 is to-day over 40. The policy of unrestricted reciprocity and discrimination, and the adoption of the American tariff, with its discrimination against England, is dead and disposed of. . . ."

In reading these memoirs it will be seen that Sir Charles's discernment as a statesman was clear and full in the commercial sphere. This extract from his journal proves that he could also promptly embrace any offer for his personal advantage:

"January 11, 1892. I received a letter from Mr. Mathew Gray inviting me to accept a position on the Board of Directors of the South American Cable Company, organised by the India Rubber and Gutta Percha and Telephone Works Company, of which he was manager. I accepted this invitation."

On April 14 the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on Sir Charles by the University of Edinburgh, and on the same evening he dined with Sir William Muir and a distinguished party. In the records of the University is found

a brief sketch of Sir Charles's life, at the end of which we read :

"Many honours have been showered upon Sir Charles Tupper in recognition of his great public services, and his Alma Mater now rejoices to offer her tribute to one of her most illustrious sons."

In the April number of the *Nineteenth Century* Sir Charles published another article, "How to Federate the Empire : A Reply to Critics,"[1] which clinched the arguments advanced in the paper published a few months previously.

The *Canadian Gazette* of July 7, 1892, contains an account of a dinner at the Westminster Palace Hotel to celebrate the twenty-fifth birthday of the Dominion of Canada, at which Sir Charles presided. Both he and his son, the Hon. C. H. Tupper, who happened to be present, made able speeches appropriate to the occasion.

Entries in Sir Charles's journal about this time indicate how responsive his heart was to any appeals calling for sympathy.

"The Hon. John Robson, Premier of British Columbia, called to see me at the office. I saw at once that he was very ill. He said he had his finger jammed in the hinge of a hansom the day before. I advised him to go to his hotel at once and send for his physician, which he did. His finger was amputated, but he sank soon after from blood poisoning. At my request, with that of the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Knutsford and others, a funeral service was held at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, attended by a large number of Canadians and others, at which Canon Farrar officiated, at twelve o'clock on the 5th, prior to the removal of the remains to Canada. My wife and I declined to dine with Sir W. Lawrence that evening. . . ."

Sir Charles was appointed to represent Canada at the International Conference at St. Petersburg. He, with Lady Tupper, Miss Marie Tupper, and Mr. C. F. Just,

[1] Reprinted in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

his private secretary, left London on August 12, and passing through Gothenburg, reached Stockholm, to find that cholera had broken out in Russia. The steamer was quarantined, and they were obliged to return to London.

In Sir Charles's journal there is the record of an event which took place about this time, and which must have left a deep impression on his mind. Lord Tennyson having "crossed the bar," Sir Charles wrote:

"Oct. 12th. I attended the funeral of Lord Tennyson at Westminster Abbey."

In the discharge of his duties as High Commissioner, Sir Charles was constantly brought into connection with events strongly contrasted but all of great interest. After witnessing the solemn services in Westminster Abbey, he was invited on October 13 by His Excellency the Marquis de la Casa Laiglesia, the Spanish Ambassador, to attend the celebration of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America by Columbus, and to propose the toast of the evening—"Columbus."

The part taken by Sir Charles in deciding the question whether Sir John Thompson could consistently be a member of the Behring Sea Commission at Paris appears in the following letter:

17 Victoria Street, S.W.,
January 4, 1893.

My dear Son,—A few days ago I received a note from Mr. Meade, of which I enclose a copy, and immediately cabled Sir John Thompson. I showed his reply to Mr. Meade confidentially, who told me that Sir T. Sanderson held the opinion strongly that the Prime Minister could not act as Arbitrator. I controverted that as strongly. Last night I received the enclosed from Meade, and, as requested, went to see Lord Rosebery to-day, first calling upon Meade, who told me that Lord Ripon had taken the firmest attitude in favour of retaining Thompson, whilst the F. O. thought the other way, and it had been decided to send for me. Lord Rosebery said that they were all of my opinion that Sir J. T. was the best man that could be obtained, but that with every prospect of a favourable issue he was afraid that the United States would break up the whole arbitration

on the ground that one of the judges was a plaintiff, or use it to prejudice the other arbitrators, and our cause would suffer, and public opinion here would be against us. I said I would tell him confidentially what I had never said even to you—that in the submission of the case a great advantage had been given to the United States which might, unless skilfully handled by an arbitrator who appreciated all the difficulty, result most injuriously to Canada, that Sir J. T. was not only an acute lawyer, but had a most effective and persuasive manner of influencing those who heard him, and that in my opinion he could not be replaced without seriously endangering our case. I told him that the United States, who had raised no objection to his appointment when Minister of Justice and leader of the Government in the House of Commons, and, as everybody knew, the virtual Premier, could not now demand any change because now the illness of Sir John Abbott had obliged him to become nominal Prime Minister. I added that the United States had required no restriction as to arbitrators except that they should be eminent International Jurists, and that Thompson was much the most eminent in Canada. I also said the United States could not well raise a question as to the arbitrators after appointing Senator Morgan, committed to the most extreme views on the question, and a judge who had given a judgment against Canada on the same. I also pointed out the importance of having an arbitrator who had the experience Sir J. T. possessed of the United States methods of advancing their interests. Lord Rosebery told me he was much impressed by my statements, and would be very glad if he could see the way to retaining the services of Sir J. T., whom they all preferred on every ground. I hope it will be all right, and that Sir J. T. will not allow anything to stand in the way of his acting as arbitrator if, as I assume, he is requested to continue.—Your affectionate father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Sir Charles, having received instructions from the Dominion Government to act as Commissioner in making a treaty with France, and he and the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava having been appointed Plenipotentiaries by the British Government, he left for Paris on October 22, 1892. On arriving at Paris, he called at the Embassy and saw Lord Dufferin, who promised him all the aid in his power. He had an interview with Baron Reinach, editor of the *République Française,* which paper was placed at his dis-

posal. He wrote an article which was accepted and published as a leader. Then, a case of pleuro-pneumonia having been discovered among some Canadian cattle arriving at Liverpool, Sir Charles was obliged to return to England. The negotiations, thus interrupted, were resumed on November 4, and a treaty was finally agreed upon, and signed on February 6, 1893, by the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, Sir Charles Tupper, and M. Jules Siegfried. A difficulty, however, was encountered when the treaty came before the Dominion House of Commons, and it was not until the following year, 1894, that it was ratified by the Dominion Parliament. The French Chamber of Commerce accepted the treaty in December, 1894.

Professor George R. Parkin, M.A., lectured before a large and enthusiastic audience in the auditorium at Toronto on November 29, 1892. His subject was "Imperial Federation." The Toronto *Empire* of November 30 reported him as saying:

"The British Parliament votes £14,500,000 sterling for the expenses of the Army and Navy. In what proportion was this cost divided? Of that vast sum the taxpayers of the United Kingdom paid 19 shillings, 5 pence, 3 farthings on the pound. India, which was entirely under the control of the British Parliament, paid 5½ pence; and Australia, which has a commerce equal to that of the Mother Country when the Queen came to the Throne, pays a small fraction of a half-penny in the pound. Canada does not pay the smallest fraction of a farthing. . . ."

The report of this lecture came under the notice of Sir Charles in January, 1893. It was well known that he had contended, both in England and in Canada, that the latter country was virtually contributing large sums to the support of the Army and Navy of Great Britain, in the great amount of capital that had been spent in connecting the Atlantic and Pacific by an intercolonial railway line, thus bringing within easy reach vast stretches of fertile land,

offering homes to the surplus population of the Mother Country, shortening the distance between England and her Eastern possessions, affording means for the rapid transportation of her army between the two great oceans, and in general vastly improving England's power in the world.

Well knowing this, Mr. Parkin must have been conscious of adversely criticising Sir Charles. On reading the report of this lecture, Sir Charles did not fail to see and feel this criticism. This appears in his reply to a letter from Mr. Casimir Dickson.

17 Victoria Street, S.W.,

To Casimir Dickson, Esq. *January* 10, 1893.

My dear Sir,—The pressure of important questions which I could not defer has prevented my dealing earlier with your letter of November last. When you remember that the Council of the Imperial Federation League embraces many strong Free Traders, you will see how impossible it must be at once to obtain unanimity in a proposal for preferential duties within the Empire, and how important it was to obtain from all the committee what is contained in Sections 36–37 of the Report. The policy of the United Empire Trade League, which has received the support of the House of Commons and of your branch, is making very steady and great progress in this country, and will, I believe, be adopted at no distant day. It is impossible to effect such a revolution in public opinion in this conservative country without much time and patience. Knowing as I do that the most active members of the Imperial Federation League were mainly interested in levying a large contribution on the revenues of the Colonies for the support of the Army and Navy of Great Britain, I am delighted to have been able almost single-handed to obtain such a report from such a committee. Unfortunately they captured Mr. Parkin, and having used him here are now using him in Canada to create the false impression that we do nothing to maintain the defence of the Empire, instead of showing you, as he truthfully could, that we have entitled ourselves to the gratitude of every man who has the interests of the Empire at heart.

—Yours, etc.,

Charles Tupper.

A meeting of the Imperial Federation League was called for May 11 to deal with Sir Charles's letter to Mr. Casimir Dickson—a letter intended to be private, but which had

been made public. The sequel may be gathered from the subjoined correspondence :

West Hampstead,
April 26, 1893.

My dear Sir,—I hear from Mr. Freeman Murray that you have expressed a wish to have a copy of the report which I now enclose, together with the publication of the "League in the United Kingdom," called a "Memorandum of Argument," which provoked it. In view of the attack which is to be made upon you at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of the League, which is arousing much indignation amongst our members, I think you will find these documents instructive reading. . . .

It appears to me that the apprehensions which are expressed to our report, that the attitude adopted by some of the active spirits of the League would have deplorable results, have been only too abundantly fulfilled.—Yours truly, Howard W. Marcus.

Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G.

111 Eaton Square, S.W.,
May 2, 1893.

Dear Sir Charles,—Your return from your official duties on the Continent enables me to address a few lines to you about your letter of January last, in which you referred to the "most active members" of the Imperial Federation League as being mainly intent on levying a large contribution from the Colonies for the support of the Army and Navy of Great Britain.

I do not desire for one instant to question the perfect *bona fides* of this expression of your opinion, but I think that the opinion itself has been shown to be incorrect. Since your letter, the leading members of the League in this country have taken the opportunity of publicly and strongly repudiating the suggestion that such was their object and intention. This declaration is one which I cannot doubt you will be glad to accept, for I am sure you would regret to cause pain to those with whom you are intimately associated in a common work, by attributing to them opinions and intentions which they altogether disclaim.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

Edward Stanhope.

17 Victoria Street, London, S.W.,
May 3, 1893.

Dear Mr. Stanhope,—In reply to your letter just received, I beg to say that I have much pleasure in accepting the statement

which you and other leading members of the League have given me, that I am wrong in supposing that their object was to levy a large contribution on the revenues of the Colonies for the support of the Army and Navy of Great Britain.

I have read with much pleasure the letter addressed by Lord Brassey to the *Empire* newspaper in Toronto a few days ago upon the same subject, and I am quite sure that it will do a great deal to remove the impression which very generally prevailed in Canada as to the aim and objects of the League, and will thus do a great deal to promote the cause in which we all have so deep an interest.

I sincerely hope that the leading members of the League, and those who may be authorised in any way to speak for it, will keep in view in their advocacy of the unity of the Empire the principles laid down by the committee in the Report which recently received the unanimous endorsement of the Council of the League.—Yours, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER.

111 EATON SQUARE,
May 4, 1893.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I have received your letter of yesterday, but it is, I am sorry to say, a disappointment. I notice that while the statement in question is no longer supported, it is not in any way withdrawn, and therefore I feel sure that I could not take it to Lord Reay and his friends and ask them to consider it satisfactory. I cannot tell you how much I regret that this should be the case, and all the more because from our conversation I had hoped that the incident might have terminated.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

EDWARD STANHOPE.

P.S.—I find on inquiry that there is no precedent to calling in reporters at a meeting of the Council, and I think it will be best on Saturday to adhere to the usual course.

17 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W.,
May 5, 1893.

DEAR MR. STANHOPE,—I confess that your letter of yesterday, this moment received, surprises me very much. I thought I had met your wishes in the most full and unreserved manner in accepting the assurances that I was wrong in supposing that the object of leading members of the League was to levy a large contribution on the Colonies for the support of the Army and Navy of Great Britain.

So anxious am I to avoid anything that could injuriously affect

the important cause in which we have been jointly engaged, that I would not hesitate to make any personal sacrifice, consistent with truth and honour, to attain that object; but I can hardly suppose that you wish me to say, in view of the facts to which I have drawn your attention, that I had no foundation for forming the opinion which I expressed in my letter to Mr. Casimir Dickson.

As I have before informed you, that letter was not intended for publication, and was written for the purpose of promoting what I believed to be the interests of the Imperial Federation League, and it was with great regret that I found it had given pain to gentlemen for whom I entertain the greatest personal regard. I have, therefore, unreservedly accepted the statement of those gentlemen in the fullest and most complete manner.

I regret to learn that you have decided that reporters cannot be admitted to the meeting to-morrow.

I am very sorry that we have been unable to take precisely the same view of the course that ought to be pursued in this matter, as I entertain the greatest respect for your opinion and judgment.—Believe me, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Sir Charles did not take any further part in the League, and shortly after the meeting on May 6, 1893, it was dissolved.[1]

Correspondence between Lord Lorne and Sir Charles in December, 1893, throws a flash of light upon the great question of Imperial Federation.

Lord Lorne had promised the Prince of Wales to read a paper at the Imperial Institute, and asked Sir Charles if there was any special point he would now desire to have brought forward. "I incline to my old ideas," he wrote, "a Council of Dominion Commissioners . . . a five-year-apart Conference, to discuss any current ideas or practical proposals."

17 VICTORIA STREET, S.W.,

December 22, 1893.

MY DEAR LORD LORNE,—I am very glad to hear you are to read a paper at the Imperial Institute. Mr. Colmer will send you the

[1] An association called The British Empire League was formed on May 30, 1895. This was done by a number of distinguished statesmen in conference with Sir Charles Tupper.

figures you wish. I enclose a report of my remarks on the question of the Unity of the Empire, and would like at your convenience to talk over the subject. The first important step in that direction was taken in giving self-government to the Colonies. The next was the Confederation of Canada, and the next, in my opinion, will be the federation of Australia and South Africa, which cannot be far distant, I hope. Parliamentary Federation of the Empire being impracticable, we must rest upon diplomatic means of drawing the Governments of the parent state and those of the three great outlying portions of the Empire into closer and more united action. An immense deal can, I am sure, be done in that way to advance the prosperity and strengthen the Empire.

I am not so sanguine as you are as to Conferences, nor do I see how they are to do much good. At the one already held the means of promoting the Unity of the Empire was tabooed, and the unanimous decision of the Conference as to the desirability of a cable from Canada to Australia, and a prompt survey by the Admiralty of the sea bottom between them, was, I believe, abandoned on a question of a few tons of coal! The arrangement for the Australian Navy was, I believe, arranged before the Conference met, and even that policy, I am inclined to think, not the best from either the British or Australian point of view. Hoping to have an opportunity of talking these matters over with your Lordship, and wishing you many happy returns of the season.—I am, etc.,

CHARLES TUPPER.

CHAPTER XII

COLONIAL INTERESTS IN ENGLAND (1893—94) : A RECALL TO CANADA (1895)

IT having come under the notice of Sir Charles that honours conferred by the Queen on Colonial statesmen were not recognised in Great Britain, he discussed the matter fully with Lord Ripon and Mr. Meade. His own case and that of Mr. Oliver Mowat were given as examples. Sir Charles said that under the sign-manual of Her Majesty the title of Honourable had been conferred upon him for life when he resigned the position of Premier of Nova Scotia in 1867. Yet he lost it when he went to London. He stated also that Mr. Oliver Mowat, who had been Premier of the great Province of Ontario for many years, and held the designation of Honourable under the Queen's Table of Precedence, became simply Mr. Mowat when he went to London.

The Marquis of Ripon said this question should receive careful consideration, and he had this anomaly removed.

Before leaving for Canada on August 17, 1893, Sir Charles went to Paris, where he saw Sir John Thompson and other members of the Behring Sea Commission, one of whom was his son, the Hon. C. H. Tupper. Soon after, while in Canada, Sir Charles had the gratification of seeing the announcement that his son had been created K.C.M.G., as a token of appreciation of the ability he showed as a Canadian representative on this Commission.

On November 21, 1893, Sir Charles returned to England, and on January 12, 1894, in company with the Agents-General and Mr. Sandford Fleming, had an interview with Lord

Ripon at the Colonial Office, for the purpose of urging the Imperial Government to join Canada and Australia in laying down a Pacific cable between those two Colonies, and the following letter to his son reports the progress of the negotiations:

17 Victoria Street, London, S.W.,
May 14, 1894.

My dear Charlie,—Sir John Thompson telegraphed me and Mr. Bowell wrote to me to do all I could to aid Mr. Huddart. I went with a deputation of all the Agents-General of Cape Colony and Natal, of Australasia (except those of South and West Australia), and Sir T. McIlwraith and Mr. Reid to the Colonial Office. I there made a full statement to Lord Rosebery and Lord Ripon and the Under-Secretaries of State as to the proposed conference at Ottawa, the steamship line, cable, and amendment of the Imperial Act as to trade relations between the Colonies. I showed them the precedent made in subsidising the steamship line to China and Japan from Vancouver after the most exhaustive examination by two Governments—Liberal and Conservative. I pointed out the great strategic, as well as commercial, value of the cable, and the importance of an early amendment of the Imperial Act to enable reciprocal trade arrangements to be made between Canada and Australasia, and the importance of the Imperial Government being represented at the Conference.

Lords Ripon and Rosebery wished everything I had said about the importance of acquiring Necker Island to be kept secret, as any publicity would defeat the efforts that were being made to obtain it. He (Lord Rosebery) instructed the Consul at Honolulu to watch closely the subject, and directed a warship to examine and report upon it. They agreed to send a delegate to the Ottawa Conference, and said they would give the most careful consideration to the application of aid to the cable and steamships. Lord Rosebery said he was afraid the Treaties with Belgium and Germany would prevent the proposed change in the Act. I took the Treaties out of my pocket and showed him that they did not interfere with the proposed legislation, and that all we asked had already been done in 1873, when the Act of 36 Vic., Chap. 22 was amended so as to admit preferential trade arrangements to be made between the different Provinces of Australia and New Zealand, and if that could be done the same thing could be extended to Canada. This statement was received as settling the question.

Colonial Interests in England

An outline of this deputation to the Colonial Office appeared in the *Times*. Although our propositions were well received by the Press generally, Sir John Colomb attacked them, and a deputation of the Eastern Cable Company and the Eastern Extension Cable Company went to the Colonial Office to protest against our proposal. Finding that an important portion of the Press was being misled and taking ground against us, I read a paper on "Canada in Relation to the Unity of the Empire" at the Royal Colonial Institute. The great room in the Metropole was crowded to the doors with an appreciative audience, who, with the exception of Sir John Colomb, gave me an enthusiastic support. I have sent copies of the paper to Sir J. Thompson, Mr. Bowell, Mr. Foster, and yourself. You will see that I endeavoured to mass a condensed statement of the authorities and precedents in support of our propositions. The discussion I will send you as soon as published. I hope the Government will find it useful in the approaching Conference. You will see from the editorial in the *Standard* how well it was received by the Press. Leading members of Parliament have thanked me for making these questions so clear, and the tone of the Press has been materially altered. You will perhaps show this letter to your colleagues.—Your affectionate father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

A question involving the rights of the Dominion and Imperial Governments—in fact, a constitutional question—arose in connection with a Bill about to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, one provision of which was to exact death duties on property in the Colonies owned by colonists dying in Great Britain. The High Commissioner addressed himself to this question in his characteristic manner of prompt thoroughness. He called a meeting of the Agents-General to discuss the proposed application of the death duties. They met Lord Ripon and Mr. Buxton at the Colonial Office on June 8, and afterwards addressed a letter to Lord Ripon on the subject, which was laid before Parliament.[1]

The Agents-General subsequently had two interviews with Sir Vernon Harcourt, who agreed to modify the Bill about to be introduced into Parliament so as to apply only to the

[1] Printed as a State paper (C. 7433) by Eyre and Spottiswoode.

balance over the local duties in the Colonies, and to provide that no writ should run in a Colony.

Sir Charles sent another letter to Lord Ripon, which was also printed as a State paper.[1]

A controversy in the *Times* with Sir John Pender on the question of the Pacific cable, which lasted from May 15 to June, 1894, brought the matter of the cable prominently into notice. This correspondence was afterwards published in pamphlet form.

At the end of 1894 the cattle question became acute by the Government laying an embargo on the importation of live cattle from Canada. This caused great dissatisfaction among Scottish farmers especially. If the cattle of Canada were allowed to land and be sold alive at the ports of Great Britain, the thrifty Scottish grazers could purchase them in their lean condition, fit them for market, and make a good profit from it; but the exclusion of Canadian cattle cut off from them the advantage of this industry. The farmers took advantage of Sir Charles's presence in Scotland, where he had gone to deliver lectures, one at Edinburgh and one at Dundee, to send a deputation to meet him at Tay Bridge Station. The character of his reply to the deputation may be gathered from the following extract from his lecture at Dundee:

"The export cattle trade was practically started in 1873, and reached its highest point in 1891, when cattle to the number of 107,000, valued at 3¾ millions of dollars, were exported to this country alone. Towards the end of 1892, however, the expansion of the trade received a check by the revocation of the privilege, enjoyed up to that time by Canada, of sending her cattle alive into this country, owing to the suspicion of pleuro-pneumonia among a few of the Canadian cattle landed here. It was only fair to add that that had never been established. The highest experts who were called in were unable to agree as to the precise nature of the disease, and, although the very strictest investigation had been conducted by the Dominion Government among Canadian herds, from

[1] C. 7451.

that day to this no single case of pleuro-pneumonia had yet been detected. Contagious pleuro-pneumonia, he need not tell them, was a disease which could not be concealed, and in such an extensive cattle-raising country as Canada the ravages it would cause, if it existed, would attract attention far and wide. In all, 800,000 Canadian cattle had been imported into this country and allowed to go all over the country, and in only one case—that in which it was alleged a cow had been affected through contact with a Canadian animal—had it been charged that pleuro had been brought from the Dominion. In these circumstances he claimed that if ever a country were in a position to claim at the hands of the Government the removal of the restrictions that now existed, Canada was in that position. . . . "

From the time Sir Charles had induced Judge Thompson to resign the position in the Judiciary of his native Province and take the position of Minister of Justice in the Dominion Cabinet, they had worked together in the interests of Canada as statesmen and warm-hearted friends. In Sir Charles's journal is an account of the close of the career of this intimate friend and colleague :

"Dec. 11th. Sir John Thompson called at the House, and when he was leaving I went with him to the door, and said I hoped he would not go to the meeting at the Royal Colonial Institute that night, where I was to preside. He said he must go, as he had promised Mr. Huddart to speak in favour of the fast Atlantic service. I told him to lie down until I called for him at the hotel, which he did. I called for him at 6 p.m., and took him to the Metropole, where the party dined, and he afterwards, at my request, made a very short speech, when I took him in my carriage to his hotel. I told him he could not be too careful, and must avoid all exertion at Windsor the next day, where he was to be sworn in as a Privy Councillor, and he promised to follow my advice.

"12th. During the morning I received a telegram from Lord Edward Pelham-Clinton conveying the Queen's commands that I should dine and sleep at Windsor that night; a carriage would meet me at the station at four o'clock. I

replied that I would do so, and was making the necessary arrangements when I received another message from Lord Edward saying that Sir John Thompson had died suddenly, but Her Majesty wished me to come to the Castle as soon as I could. I proceeded to Windsor, and after dining with the household, received the Queen's commands to attend her in the corridor, where I was most graciously received. The Queen was much affected, and wished me tell her all about Sir John Thompson.

"The Queen desired me to express to the people of Canada her deep sympathy in the great loss they had sustained, and said she did not wish the body to be removed before eleven the next morning, as she wished to lay a wreath on the coffin with her own hands.

"13th. At eleven o'clock the Queen drove to the door of the principal entrance in a donkey carriage, and deposited the wreath on the coffin. Her Majesty again expressed to me her great sorrow, and, as requested, I presented Mrs. Sandford and her daughter to the Queen. I accompanied the body to Paddington Station, where it was taken by the undertaker to be embalmed and rest in the Lady Chapel of St. James's Church.

"14th. I, with my wife, who laid a wreath on the coffin, attended a requiem mass at eleven o'clock, which was attended by Lord Ripon and a large number of other people. Lord Ripon told me the Government had decided to send Sir John Thompson's remains to Canada by the *Blenheim*."

Sir Charles had planned to return to Canada on board the *Blenheim,* but on consulting Dr. Tyrrell, whose opinion was confirmed by Dr. Travers, he found his heart was so seriously affected that he was compelled to remain in bed. He did not sufficiently recover from this illness to be able to engage fully in his duties as High Commissioner until the middle of the following February.

At this time Cabinet disagreements in Canada drifted towards fatal ruptures, but external concord was again

restored by the appointment of the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell as Premier. Discord, however, rankled in the hearts of members of the Cabinet, and was a force ever disintegrating and disrupting in its tendency, which was taken full advantage of by a discerning, powerful and not overscrupulous Opposition. It was during this period that Mr. Wilfrid Laurier emerged from obscurity, and had his training as an Opposition leader preparatory to the fourteen years' rule as Premier of Canada which followed. The crisis at last became acute, and explosions took place, giving the public a view of the internal conditions through the rents of disruption. Early in 1895 it was felt by several members of the Cabinet that a stronger leader of their party was necessary to its salvation. Measures were at once taken to sound Sir Charles upon the matter, and the following letters throw considerable light upon the situation :

LONDON, S.W.,
January 7, 1895.

MY DEAR CHARLIE,—Your dear mother received your letter of Christmas. I had been anxiously looking for a letter, and I felt you had not quite appreciated my action in saying " Yes " to your appeal. When I wrote that word your interests alone influenced me, and I felt I was signing my own death-warrant. I was inexpressibly relieved when the reprieve came. I send you a copy of a letter from Mr. Skinner. It was followed by a visit from Van Horne, Angus, and himself. They answered my statement that you were in every respect a better man, and that I knew I would not live a year if I undertook the duty of leader, by saying that you were undoubtedly the ablest and best man in Canada, but had injured your popularity in certain sections by the admirable way in which you had discharged the duties of your office, in the face of great personal and political pressure, and your youth would be made a pretext of opposition by jealous colleagues. They urged that I would go into the Senate, and you lead in the Commons. Sir D. A. Smith, on his arrival the next day, joined with them in urging the same. All that I agreed to do after receiving your telegram from Whitemouth was, if invited, to go into the Senate as High Commissioner and a member of the Government. It is much better as it is. I am glad you took the course you did under the circumstances as you found them. You

have now the office I have always wished you to hold, as you can devote your time to the study of law. If you carry the country you will be all right and will become a great lawyer, or, better still, if you are beaten, you will practise in Toronto, make a home there, and be the recognised leader of the Opposition in the Commons during the short time your opponents retain power. . . .

I know, my dear son, that whether I influence you on these two points upon which alone I differ with you or not, you will know that I speak strongly because I love you dearly. I have not a wish or thought except for my wife and children. The utmost wish and limit of personal ambition has long since been attained. I live for my wife and children, and for them alone. Through them, and them only, can I be touched. . . .—Your loving father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

To this Sir Charles Hibbert replied on January 12, and in the course of the letter said:

"Everyone outside of our weak Cabinet demands you as leader, and in our Cabinet the best men want you as well. If you came out and wished to, you could be elected hand over hand in Antigonish! If you are ready for a strong fight for doing the minority in Manitoba justice under the division we are about to have, you could sweep Canada and be Premier. The country yearns for you, and you could not be in Canada a month before the party would rally to your standard in grand style. You need not go into hard campaigning. A speech in Halifax, St. John, Montreal, and Toronto could be your contribution. The young men would do the rest. . . . We want a leader bold and ready. Think this over, and if you consider it favourably wire me fully."

LONDON, S.W.,
January 29, 1895.

MY DEAR CHARLIE,—Your letter of the 12th has been most carefully considered, and I have again discussed the situation with Sir D. A. Smith and Sir William Van Horne. They say that the present is the best time to go to the country, but that success is impossible at any time as the Government is now constituted, and believe that success would be assured if I were leader. I quite agree with you as to the policy to be pursued and the opinions you express as to what I could do; but I know my health, although better, makes it impossible for me to go into the Commons. I personally greatly prefer not to re-enter political life at all, and, so far as your interests

are concerned, feel that the defeat of the party is the best thing that could happen. In Opposition they would learn your value, and you would at once become the acknowledged head of the party. On the other hand, the continuance of our policy just now is vital to Canada. The union of Newfoundland to Canada is of the greatest importance. But for my prompt action the Blaine-Bond Treaty would have united the island with the United States commercially and involved us in great difficulty. The ball is now at our feet. The fast Atlantic service, and the commercial union with the other Colonies now all but assured, will be lost. Under these circumstances I would sacrifice the rest for which I long and go into the Senate as President of the Privy Council until these things were attained and you could succeed me. Yet, anxious as I am to promote the interests of Canada regardless of self, nothing would induce me to make the slightest bid in any way for the position.

Sir W. Van Horne leaves here to-day on his return. I have promised him and Sir Donald Smith that I would ask you to see him immediately on his arrival and discuss this important question without reserve. I cabled you the decision of the Privy Council on the Manitoba question to-day the moment it was delivered, and send you our advance copy to-morrow. The line you propose to take is right, and the only one under which Canada can remain a united people and prosper. I need not add I would urge you to maintain that course if I knew that it would close your political career. Cable me and write me fully.—Your affectionate father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The difference in interpreting the British North America Act relating to the authority of the Provinces in the matter of legislation respecting Government schools, in the case of Manitoba, led to appeals to Courts of Law.

The British North America Act provided that all parties had a right to the system of schools existing at the time of Confederation, and that if the Provinces failed to grant this right to any body of people, provision was made for an appeal to the Government of Canada for remedial legislation. Manitoba repealed the law giving Roman Catholics separate schools. This matter was tried out in the lower courts, and finally an appeal was made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

On January 29, 1895, Sir Charles Tupper telegraphed to his son the decision of the Council, to the effect that the Roman Catholics had a right to separate schools in the Province of Manitoba, and as this right was denied them by the Government of that Province, an appeal to the Government of Canada, according to the British North America Act, could be made, and the Parliament of Canada could enact and administer remedial legislation for the Roman Catholics. Sir C. H. Tupper felt that the existing Government was not the one to deal with the question, and accordingly tendered his resignation to Sir Mackenzie Bowell, but on April 1 he informed his father that he had been induced not to resign his position in the Cabinet.

It has been a matter of doubt in the public mind whether Sir Charles Tupper, had he been in the Cabinet in 1895, would have adopted the policy of Remedial Legislation. His accepting the policy of the Government and advocating it after he became a member of the House of Commons in 1896, has been believed by some to have arisen from the fact that the Government was already committed to it and could not recede. But the following letter is in evidence that the course taken by the Government was, from the first, in harmony with his own personal views of the question :

17 Victoria Street, London, S.W.,
April 5, 1895.

My dear Son,—My cables have shown you how strongly I was opposed to your resignation and how glad I was to learn that the difficulty was overcome, and you had decided to remain in the Cabinet. These opinions are confirmed by the perusal of your letter of March 21 and its enclosure. I agree with you entirely as to the "remedial order" adopted by the Government, and I think the success of the party at the elections required a prompt dissolution. But when your views were accepted on the main point I felt that you would not have been justified in deserting the Government on the question of dissolution or meeting the House.

I do not agree with you, or think the precedents cited conclu-

sive as to the competency of Parliament to deal with the question without a special mandate from the people. While the success of the party would be promoted by an immediate dissolution, I am by no means sure that the remedial legislation would not be safer in the present House than a new one elected under prejudice and excitement promoted by McCarthy *et al.*, to whom this question is a godsend. If the present House now refuses to deal with the question and one hostile to remedial legislation is returned, a great and, I think, unnecessary responsibility will rest upon those opposed to immediate action.

As I understand it, the French were opposed to a dissolution. This was important, as they were deeply interested in the result. I wish you to look this point fairly in the face. I am afraid the Roman Catholics will resent the shirking of the question by the present House. This is not a proposed change of the Constitution, but simply maintaining it. I hope you will consider this matter carefully. I think it quite likely that the C. P. R., feeling that Bowell would go to certain defeat, wished to have another session, and I do not blame them in the difficult position in which they are placed, and, of course, that would necessarily have great weight with all your colleagues.—Your affectionate father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

After recovering his health, Sir Charles found his duties as manifold and varied as ever—visiting the Colonial Office in the interests of the Cable Company, attending the Council of the Imperial Institute, discussing the Newfoundland question with Lord Ripon, communicating with Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and representing Canada at the opening of the International Railway Congress, etc.

At this date a rather interesting incident occurred, which is thus referred to in Sir Charles's journal, and which illustrates one element of his many-sided character :

" Some time ago two brothers, named Middleton, who had served under me as engineers when I was Minister of Railways in Canada, came to me and asked me to introduce them to Mr. Cecil Rhodes, as they wished to work on the railways in South Africa. Mr. Rhodes, however, did not engage them, and when they returned to me I gave them a letter to the Governor of the Cape, who offered them the contract for a

short line of railway if they could give security. In order not to be involved in liability in case of their death I, with one of their brothers in Edinburgh and Mr. Thomas Reynolds in London, formed a Colonial Construction Company. We deposited £30,000 with the Agents-General at Cape Colony as security. I deposited £10,000 in bonds, on which I recovered the coupons as the interest became due. It therefore cost me nothing. They completed their contract, and returned me $3,000 as my share of the profits."

Another interesting incident, and an example of Sir Charles's swift thinking and deliberate action, took place about this time. Mr. ———, an enterprising man, now Sir ———, imported a cargo of salmon, caught in British Columbia and sent in cold storage to Sydney, N.S.W., thence to London, to be placed on the market during the close season. This gentleman presented Sir Charles with two of these salmon, and distributed a large number in the London restaurants. He called upon Sir Charles one day in great trouble, and told him that the Fishmongers' Company had served him with an injunction declaring these fish to be trout, the sale of which was prohibited during the close season. Sir Charles was asked if he could do anything for him, and replied: "Send me another salmon, and I will see what I can do." The fish was sent to him, and he sent it to Sir W. Flower, Director of the Natural History Museum, who replied by letter, giving his own and Lady Flower's thanks for "that fine salmon. . . . It was an excellent fish, and came perfectly fresh."

The secretary of the company called to tell Sir Charles how sorry they were to interfere with a Canadian in this way, but as the fish was trout they could not help doing it. Sir Charles handed him Sir W. Flower's letter, and the injunction was withdrawn.

On July 30 Sir Charles discussed with Mr. Joseph Chamberlain the question of a fast Atlantic steamship service between England and Canada as the principal link in

the chain of connection with Australia via the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Pacific. On the following day he embodied in a letter the proposals which he had made verbally.[1]

The subjoined telegrams and letters reveal the character of the labours of the High Commissioner to secure the realisation of this plan :

LONDON,

To BOWELL, *Ottawa.* *November* 14, 1895.

Confidential. Long interview Colonial Minister last night. Imperial Government will support fast Atlantic service to extent £75,000, vessels similar to *Teutonic,* but will require Canadian Government invite new tenders. Agents-General and self to meet Colonial Minister Tuesday *re* cable. Have no doubt Government will support proposal, and appoint Commission at once to arrange details. Pending declaration policy Imperial Government think it inadvisable show Fleming's letter of October 11 to Agents-General. Will advise you result of meeting. Shall I come out consult you about these two matters ? Think could render you material assistance. Do not make contents this message public till further advised.

TUPPER.

LONDON,

To SIR C. H. TUPPER, *Ottawa.* *November* 15, 1895.

Confidential. Have secured Imperial aid required for both fast steam service and cable. Wish Dickey and you see my cable Bowell yesterday. I see the way clear to make fast service complete success for Canada.

C. TUPPER.

BOWELL, *Ottawa.* *November* 18, 1895.

You may safely announce Imperial Government have decided to give necessary aid to secure fast Atlantic service.

TUPPER.

OTTAWA,

To TUPPER, *London.* *December* 2, 1895.

Regarding fast line, come out to consult. Get all information possible.

BOWELL.

[1] This letter was published in full in " Recollections of Sixty Years."

LONDON,
November 25, 1895.

MY DEAR CHARLIE,—I received the enclosed letter from our mutual friend, A. R. D.[1] I sent a cable to Bowell (of which I advised you and asked you and D. to see it) saying the Government here would support both the fast service and the cable, and saying I would go out to confer with him if he wished. I wrote him fully on the same subjects and mailed my letter to him and a copy of it to you on Saturday, the 16th, which will be in Ottawa to-morrow, I expect. I wished you to show that to D. as the answer to his letter. You and he will both see that it would not be possible for me to go out without being asked by B. I think in view of the short time before the election must be held it is too late to do any good, but I would make any personal sacrifice that the party should demand. If B. wished to come here I might take his place in the Senate. The idea of taking your place for Pictou is preposterous. *Nothing* would induce me to go into the Government if you left the Cabinet or your present office.

I think you must all stand by your guns, come what may. If you are beaten it will not be for long, and a turn in Opposition will do you all good, and I cannot think any material fiscal change can be made. I still think Laurier will go against remedial legislation this coming session and that you will be defeated, but I may be wrong. At all events, you should look upon that as a probability. I would like you to show this letter to D., and say how much I appreciated his letter. You know that personally I would rather do or suffer anything than go back into Parliamentary life. Of course, you will show the copy of my letter to B. to D.

With love and best wishes.—I am, Your loving father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

About this time Sir Charles read a paper before the Tyneside Geographical Society, Sir Edward Grey, M.P., in the chair, on "Canada and Her Relation with the Mother Country." He gave also an address to the Newcastle Chamber of Commerce on "The Commercial Relation Between England and Canada."

Sir Charles and Lady Tupper sailed from Liverpool on the 7th, and arrived in New York on December 14, 1895.

[1] Hon. A. R. Dickey.

CHAPTER XIII

SIR CHARLES RE-ENTERS PARLIAMENT AND BECOMES PREMIER (1896)

SIR CHARLES arrived in Ottawa on December 15, 1895, and was the guest of his son Sir C. H. Tupper. Sir Mackenzie Bowell and several of the Ministers called on him on the 16th, and he discussed with the Premier the questions of the Fast Line and the Pacific Cable.

Before leaving London, Sir Charles had told Mr. Chamberlain that he thought Sir Donald Smith was entitled to as much recognition from Her Majesty's Government as Lord Mount Stephen, who had been given a peerage. Sir Charles gave Mr. Chamberlain his reasons for this opinion, which were regarded by Mr. Chamberlain as conclusive. He asked Mr. Chamberlain if a recommendation from Lord Aberdeen would be of service to him in asking for the honours for Sir D. Smith. After arriving in Ottawa, Sir Charles called on Lord Aberdeen, and went fully into the subject, and told him what Mr. Chamberlain had said. Lord Aberdeen replied: "I will cable Mr. Chamberlain to-day strongly recommending a peerage for Sir Donald."

While in Montreal, the guest of Sir Donald Smith, Sir Charles received a call from Mr. Sergeant, who had retired from the management of the Grand Trunk Railway. He had previously declined an invitation to dine with him, but returned his call before leaving the city. In response to a delegation, Sir Charles delivered an address on "Preferential Trade" before the Montreal Board of Trade.

On January 4, while Sir Charles was discussing the questions of the Fast Line and the Pacific Cable with Sir

Mackenzie Bowell, the resignation of seven Ministers came to the Premier—Messrs. George E. Foster, John Haggart, W. B. Ives, C. H. Tupper, A. R. Dickey, W. H. Montague, and J. F. Wood. When these Ministers approached Sir Charles to consult with him, he replied that he was at Ottawa at the request of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and would offer no advice, nor entertain any proposal, unless Sir Mackenzie Bowell sent for him. He gave the same reply to a large number of senators and members of the House of Commons who called on him.

On January 9 the Premier sent for Sir Charles. This invitation, which was brought by Mr. Taylor, the Whip, Sir Charles accepted. During the conference, Sir Mackenzie Bowell proposed to resign in favour of Sir Charles, if he would accept the leadership, and drop Mr. Foster and Mr. Haggart from the Cabinet, all the others to withdraw their resignations. Sir Charles said, in reply to this, that nothing would induce him to have anything to do with the reorganisation of the Government unless all parties would agree to bury the past and cordially unite in whatever should be done.

The following letters and telegrams shed further light upon the political condition of the Cabinet and party at the time:

TORONTO,
January 7, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—In consequence of my illness for some time past I have not been able to write to you as I had hoped to do soon after you arrived in this country. I am still confined to my room, but am now improving, and hope to be out in a few days.

I can assure you that it is a source of great satisfaction to me to know that you are with us amidst our political troubles, and I feel assured that everyone will welcome you back again, as we believe you can be of better service in guiding the ship of state than any other man in the Dominion. It is sad to think that the grand old Liberal-Conservative party should be torn asunder as it is now. It is the duty of every loyal Conservative to do everything in his

power to bring about the necessary reconciliation. I had hoped that if there were friction in the Cabinet our dear old friend, Mackenzie Bowell, who has done grand service for the country, would, in view of his being unable to hold the party together, make way quietly for some other person—which I had hoped would have been yourself—to take hold of the helm. I fear the feeling has extended so far that there will be some difficulty now to reconcile the factions; but I do hope you will do all in your power to effect a reconciliation if possible, and save the party from disintegration. There is no reason why we should not still have a united party and hold the reins of power in spite of all opposition. I am sure you can do it if any man can.

I was pleased to notice that there was to be a grand caucus of the Conservative party in order to decide what course to pursue, and sincerely hope they will be wisely guided, and that our older and standard men who have been connected with the Government so long will be brought into the Cabinet, and that the affairs of the Government and the country will still go on prosperously.

I would be glad to see our esteemed Sir Mackenzie Bowell appointed to the Canadian High Commissionership in London in your place if you can be induced to take the Premiership and lead the party.

Hoping that you are in the enjoyment of good health, and wishing you the compliments of the season.—I am, Sincerely yours,

H. A. Massey.

Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., *Ottawa.*

St. John, N.B.,
January 6, 1896.

Dear Sir Charles,—Excuse me troubling you with a letter, but I cannot help doing so this morning. . . . I am glad to see there is a prospect of you taking charge. I realise it is harder work than you should be required to undertake; but there does not seem to be anyone else to take the helm who could hope to swing the ship off the shoals, and I am rejoiced that you are able and willing to do it. Please accept my personal thanks. It is a great relief to the whole country. If you will accept a suggestion I will make one, namely, that you make some arrangement with your old friend, Dalton McCarthy, and let the Remedial Bill go to the dogs. It is useless to try and carry any remedial order in the country. I am quite sure the Government will be hopelessly defeated if they attempt

it. We might stand a recommendation to the Manitoba Government, but an *order never.*

I trust that your health is good and that you may long be spared to the country. Wishing you a happy New Year.—I remain, Your sincerely,

A. H. HANNINGTON.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G.

ALEXANDRIA,

January 3, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I hope to God that the report in this morning's *Citizen,* telegraphed from Montreal, that you and Chapleau are coming back is true.

Lady Macdonald sometimes did not do wise things, and sometimes she did not do wise things in a wise way. When Sir John died she assumed the responsibility of writing to Lord Stanley recommending that you should be sent for. Whether it was wise in her to have done this is one thing, but as to the wisdom of the course she advocated there has never been the slightest doubt in my mind. How amply subsequent events have justified what many of us were praying for it is unnecessary here to say, for it is patent to everyone that the party is on the rocks.

My dear Sir Charles, if there is any prospect of your going in, hold out for Hugh Macdonald to go in with you. Years are advancing upon you, and the efforts which will have to be put forth will try you to the utmost, nor can you be everywhere. In Ontario and Manitoba in particular a new accession of strength is required if we are not to be overwhelmed. I like and admire Haggart, but how can he and Montague and Wood fill the place in the public heart and confidence once held by Sir John Macdonald, Sir A. Campbell, T. White, and J. Carling? Hugh will be as strong in Ontario as in Manitoba, and if the party can now be consolidated, it will be by you and him. As to his not going in, i.e. refusing, don't believe it. He is a chivalrous fellow, and will not refuse to sacrifice his personal predilections for private life at the call of duty. He won't refuse you if you ask it of him.

I had spoken to Caron time and again about this, and it was arranged that he should telegraph me when you came out, so that I might go up and meet you and him, and we could get you to make Hugh do it. But I did not hear from him, and supposed it did not meet with the approval of some of his colleagues, who seem to pursue the policy of drift.

With you at the head of the Government, Chapleau to put heart

SIR CHARLES TUPPER (1896)

Presentation portrait from a few of his London friends

Sir Charles Re-enters Parliament

into [illegible] Quebec, C. H. T. in Nova Scotia, Mr. Foster in Mo[illegible] J. Macdonald in Ontario and Manitoba, and the others doing what they can in their localities, we may be saved from destruction which otherwise will be as overwhelming as that which smote the Grits on the 17th of September, 1878.

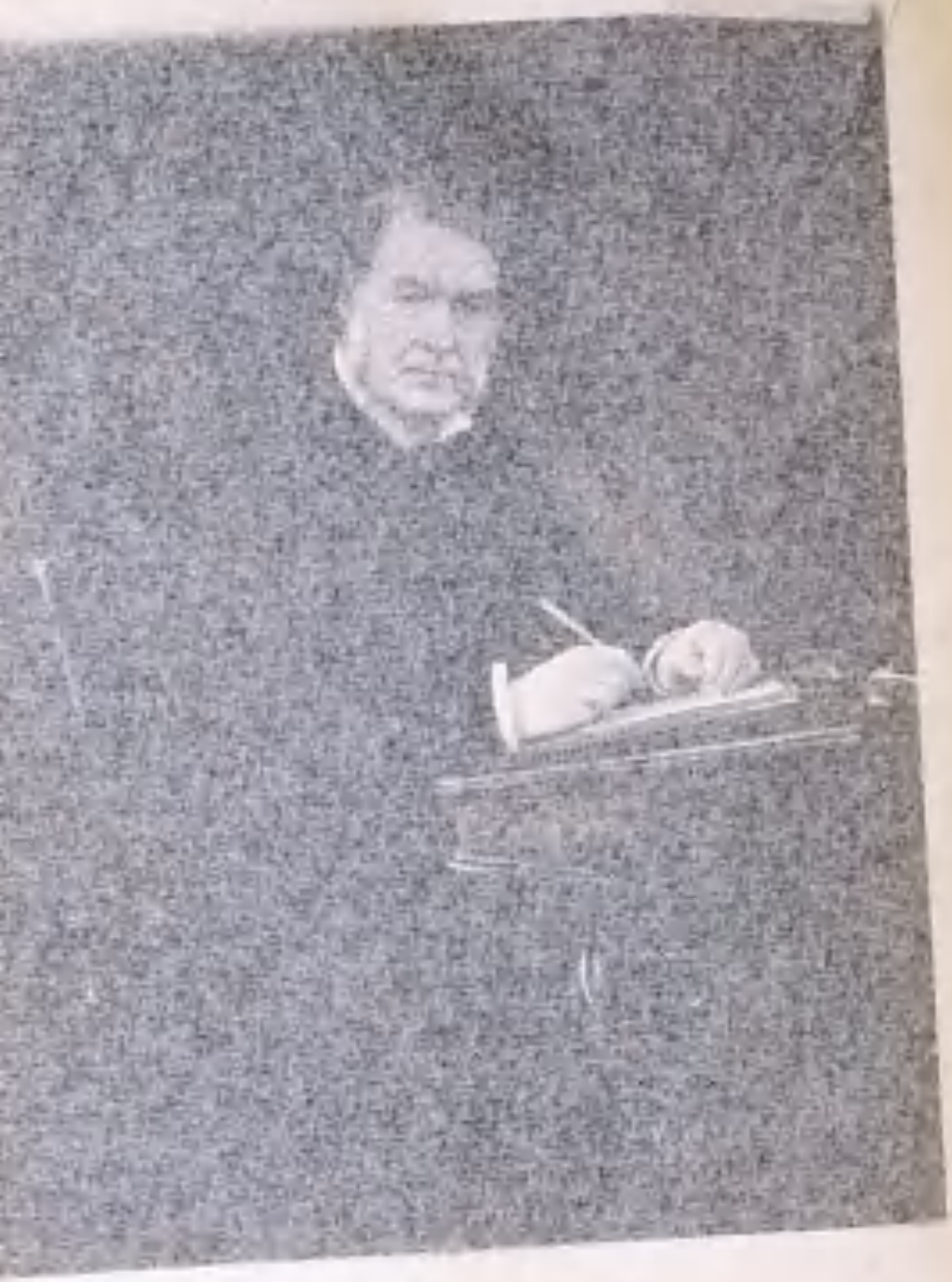
But without efficient colleagues who themselves can [illegible] people, the terrible exertion of this campaign will [illegible] will have made the sacrifice in vain.

I look for no answer to this. I will watch the [illegible] with keenest anxiety. I am [illegible] yours,

Sir Frank Smith called on Sir Charles with Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who wished to see him, as they were all agreed that the only solution of the difficulty was that Sir Charles should become leader in the House of Commons until the close of the session, and then succeed the latter as Premier.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell told Sir Charles that he had no fault to find with his son Sir Charles Hibbert, who had ever been frank and candid with him. He therefore proposed that he should succeed his father as High Commissioner in London. To this proposal Sir Charles replied that with the great financial questions of the Fast Line Service and the Atlantic and Pacific questions ripe for settlement, he thought a great capitalist could best promote the interests of Canada in that position, in which opinion Sir Mackenzie coincided. The result of negotiations was that all the resignations were withdrawn, and Sir Charles united with the Government and was sworn in as Secretary of State. But the understanding was that, after the session closed, Sir Mackenzie Bowell would be given a seat in the Senate and Sir Charles would be made Premier.

Mr. Costesworth, Mr. Grant, Dr. Macken, Mr. Hector F. McDougall, and Mr. Ferguson offered Sir Charles their seats. He accepted that of Mr. D. Macken. Sir Charles received many letters and communications of congratulation, one from the Liberal-Conservative Association of Halifax, the



into his friends in Quebec, C. H. T. in Nova Scotia, Mr. Forster in New Brunswick, H. J. Macdonald in Ontario and Manitoba, and the others doing what they can in their localities, we may be saved from destruction which otherwise will be as overwhelming as that which smote the Grits on the 17th of September, 1878.

But without efficient colleagues who themselves can inspire the people, the terrible exertion of this campaign will kill you, and you will have made the sacrifice in vain.

I look for no answer to this. I will watch the papers closely and with keenest anxiety. I am always at your service.—Most faithfully yours,

J. A. Macdonell.

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Liberal-Conservative Association of Sydney, and the Young Men's Liberal-Conservative Club of Winnipeg.

At the time he was sworn in as Secretary of State, Sir Charles held the position of a director of the Bank of British Columbia, at £500 a year; director of the General Mining Association, London, at £175 a year; and chairman of the South African Cable Company, at £200 a year. These positions had occupied but little of his time, and had enabled him to discharge the duties of High Commissioner more efficiently, as they increased his knowledge of financial business and cable enterprises. He resigned all these offices on becoming a member of the Government.

Immediately after his address before the Montreal Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce, Sir Charles left for Cape Breton, and received addresses along the route at Moncton, Amherst, Springhill, Truro, Pictou, Grand Narrows, Boisdale, North Sydney, and Leitche's Creek. On January 23 he spoke to 1,500 people for two hours at Sydney. On the following day he addressed 3,500 at a machine shop in Glace Bay for an hour and a half. The next day he addressed a large audience at Cow Bay for an hour, and on the 27th he gave another address of an hour and a half at Sydney Mines. On the following day he was nominated at Sydney, and spoke for nearly two hours to 900 people. He gave another address on the 29th to an assembly of 950, and the day following he spoke for an hour and a quarter to 200 people at Louisburg, and returned to Sydney Mines, where he remained until Tuesday, February 4, the day the election took place. He was elected by a majority of 820, and returning to Sydney, addressed a crowded meeting that same evening in the public hall.

On his return to Halifax, while the train stopped at Antigonish, he addressed about 300 people for fifteen minutes, and 1,000 at New Glasgow. At Halifax he was given a banquet at the Halifax Hotel, at which there were 215 guests.

Sir Charles Re-enters Parliament

At this banquet Sir Charles very appropriately reviewed his own public life, and hence the history of the Dominion. His arduous labours in Cape Breton, in which he had for his opponent George H. Murray, who had resigned his place in the Nova Scotia Cabinet to oppose Sir Charles, seemed not to have exhausted his strength or abated his zeal. He gave this review of his life in reply to disparaging statements of the Opposition Press. The banquet was a great success and a cheering token of appreciation, well deserved by the veteran statesman who had turned his back upon the honours, the luxuries, the labours of the High Commissioner's office to plunge again into the heavy work of a mid-winter campaign, in which he exhibited the alertness, the self-sacrifice, and the zeal of his early life.

The Halifax *Herald* thus recorded Sir Charles Tupper's triumphal nomination at Sydney on January 23, 1896:

SIR CHARLES TUPPER NOMINATED

By the Liberal-Conservatives of Cape Breton County

Amid Cheers that Shook the Densely Crowded Building

"The Grand Old Man is All Right, The Grand Old Policy is All Right, Cape Breton County is All Right!"—Telling Speeches by the Secretary of State and Others.

Sydney, C.B.,
January 23.

The depth of feeling already aroused in this county was evidenced by the proceedings of to-day. Last night a wild north-west snowstorm raged throughout the county, blocking the roads and blockading railways. During yesterday scores of delegates from the extreme ends of the county arrived at Sydney. The delegates from adjoining towns and mining centres started for the convention this morning. The train which started from Louisburg increased its passengers so rapidly that by the time it reached Glace Bay it carried six hundred passengers, mostly delegates. . . .

Temperance hall, the largest building in Sydney, had been crowded for four hours before the six hundred snowbound delegates arrived. They came directly to the hall, and their arrival was greeted with

a mighty cheer that shook the roof, answered by an equally enthusiastic cheer by the cold and hungry men, who forgot their hunger in the excitement and enthusiasm of the hour. Crowded as the hall was before the snowbound train arrived, it was packed to suffocation afterwards, and hundreds were unable to get inside. The enthusiasm of the audience, especially of the sturdy miners, was of a kind never before witnessed in Cape Breton, and the cheers which greeted the unanimous nomination of Sir Charles Tupper, tendered by a standing vote, made the great building shake. Finally a passage was made through the dense mass of humanity, and as Sir Charles stepped upon the platform the cheers broke out again and again, such cheers as were never before heard in this end of Canada. Mr. Mosely, ex-M.P.P., chairman, tendered the nomination, and Sir Charles spoke for an hour and a half, while scores of delegates stood on the platform, every foot of which was occupied.

The Montreal *Gazette* published a long report of the reception and banquet given to Sir Charles on his way from Cape Breton to Ottawa, and in the following "leader" gave expression to the intense feeling that existed with regard to the return to harness of Canada's "Grand Old Man."

"It was said in some journals that in his Cape Breton campaign addresses the utterances of Sir Charles Tupper were those of a vain and reminiscent old man, showing signs even of softening of the brain. A goodly representation of the people of Montreal listened to Sir Charles on Saturday evening. He had just completed a long railway journey, after spending a fortnight in a winter political campaign. He is a man nearly seventy-five years of age. He spoke with some huskiness, the natural effect of long-continued exertion, which a much younger man might plead guilty to without shame. But there was no other sign of weakness. His address was a well-arranged, well-delivered review of the main issue of the political field, and a justification of the Conservative policy in regard thereto. It was a convincing speech, appealing to the reason of the hearers, and all the more effective because of the moderateness of the language in which it was couched. It showed the reasons the Conservatives had for the faith that was in them in regard to the National Policy, and explained why the Conservative Government had resolved to ask Parliament to pass an Act restoring to the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba the privileges wrongly taken away from it, in opposition to

the spirit of the constitution of the Province enacted by Parliament itself. The frequent applause which greeted his periods showed also that Sir Charles was speaking to a sympathetic audience. His address benefited himself, the Government of which he is a member, and the cause of the party of which he is again one of the active leaders."

At Sackville, on his return to Ottawa, fifty leading citizens came to see Sir Charles at the train, but his arduous labours of the previous week suggested rest, and unfortunately they found him in bed. At Petticodiac he received an address from 200 friends, and 1,500 at St. John, where he addressed them for three minutes from the car.

On February 11 Sir Charles was introduced, and took his seat in the House. The House was then debating the Budget. On March 3 he moved the second reading of the Remedial Bill.

Sir Charles glanced at the history of Confederation, and stated that the great change since the Union, seen in the kindly and tolerant spirit existing between all denominations of Christians, which undoubtedly had contributed to the phenomenal growth and prosperity of the Dominion, was in striking contrast to the war of race and religion which existed so long in Ontario and Quebec, and besides being a clog to their prosperity, finally made good government an impossibility. Who would now, by denying their rights to the minority in Manitoba, a minority which represented nearly forty per cent. of the population of Canada, bring back the discord and its consequences from which the country had, happily, been delivered since Confederation.

He then reviewed, somewhat in detail, the history of the Manitoba School question, and showed that both divine and human law combined to demand of the Dominion Parliament a remedy for a wrong proved before the highest Court in the Empire. He concluded with a strong appeal for unity on a question so momentous to the Dominion.

Sir Charles was followed by Mr. Laurier, who made a

long speech in reply, at the end of which he moved the six months' hoist. He took the ground that the Remedial Bill would not give relief to the Manitoba minority, and would be a violent wrench of the Constitution.

Sir Charles, in the course of his reply, said :

" I would a thousand times rather fall in defence of the admitted rights of a weak minority of a race and religion not my own, than ride roughshod into power over the ruins of the Constitution of my country and the denial of the just claims of a minority of my own race and faith at the behest of a majority who were trampling their dearest rights under their feet."

On March 20 the second reading of the Remedial Bill was carried by 115 to 94. On April 2 another division took place, which the Government carried by 91 to 45.

The House went again into Committee on the Bill on April 6, and sat continuously until midnight on Saturday. On the 7th, Sir Charles said :

" I call attention to the fact that the Government obtained a substantial majority on the second reading of the Bill, a majority composed not only of members of its own party, but of several gentlemen supporting the leader of the Opposition. Now, what happened ? Why, a comparatively small section of this House, who declared from that time that they intended to prevent this measure becoming law, have from that hour down to the present moment confronted the Government with the most palpable, open, and determined obstruction that it is possible to conceive."

About this time Mr. Greenway, leader of the Government of Manitoba, telegraphed Sir Donald Smith that his Government would be willing to negotiate on the matter of the Remedial Bill. In response to this overture, Messrs. Dickey, Desjardins and Sir D. A. Smith were sent to Manitoba, but were unable to secure a solution of this distracting question.

As the House expired by the efflux of time on April 24, Sir Charles Tupper moved that the Committee rise and ask leave to sit again, as it was absolutely necessary to pass the estimates.

Sir Charles Re-enters Parliament

The careful study given by Sir Charles, while in England, to the union of the Empire, had resulted in his forming definite and decided views on this subject. On March 5 the Ontario Branch of the Imperial Federation League held its annual meeting in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, and on the motion of Sir Charles Tupper the name was changed to the British Empire League.

Sir Charles made an effort to save the Chignecto Railway Transport Company from failure to carry out their enterprise of connecting the Bay of Fundy with the Gulf of St. Lawrence by a railway for transporting ships from one gulf to the other. He spoke strongly in favour of it, but the second reading of the Bill was defeated by a majority of one. The contract for building this ship railway had the approval of Alexander Mackenzie, and the company asked only for an extension of time to complete the work. The Liberal Government, however, refused to allow the company to finish the road.

Sir Charles having informed the House that the Colonial Secretary had assured him that the Imperial Government would supplement the amount that Canada might pay for a fast Atlantic Service to one-third of the amount, the House unanimously passed a Bill to enable the Government to make a contract for a Fast Service of twenty knots an hour for $750,000, to be paid by Canada.

Sir Charles had exerted his influence with his son Sir C. H. Tupper, when he was Minister of Justice, at the time of the fear of war with the United States because of the Venezuela controversy, that the Government should promptly provide for an efficient arming of the militia, which was done.

When the House proceeded, on April 23, to concur in the resolution of the Committee of Supply—Militia, Army and Ammunition, $1,000,000—Mr. Renfret moved: "This House regrets that the Government, without the authority of Parliament, has entered into contracts for the pur-

chase of arms and equipment to the amount of nearly two millions." This motion was defeated by 67 to 35. Mr. Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. Dalton McCarthy voted for the motion.

No further progress was made with the Remedial Bill, and on April 23 Parliament was prorogued, and the Governor-General announced that the House would be immediately dissolved. Sir Donald Smith was made High Commissioner for Canada, and he and Sir Mackenzie Bowell were appointed delegates to the Cable Conference at London. Mr. Sandford Fleming was requested to accompany them as an expert.

Shortly after prorogation Sir Mackenzie Bowell resigned the Premiership, and the Governor-General sent for Sir Charles Tupper and entrusted him with the formation of a Government. The Hon. J. A. Chapleau, upon whom Sir Charles had confidently relied as the French leader, declined to accept this position. It was afterwards ascertained that Mr. Tarte had promised Mr. Chapleau that he should have a second term as Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec. Sir Charles then called upon Mr. Angers, who was supported by Mr. Taillon and Senator Desjardins.

The following Cabinet was ultimately sworn in on May 1:

Sir Charles Tupper, *Premier and Secretary of State.*
Hon. John Costigan, *Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*
Hon. J. G. Haggart, *Minister of Railways and Canals.*
Hon. G. E. Foster, *Minister of Finance.*
Hon. W. B. Ives, *Minister of Trade and Commerce.*
Hon. A. R. Dickey, *Minister of Justice.*
Hon. W. H. Montague, *Minister of Agriculture.*
Hon. A. R. Angers, *President of the Council.*
Hon. A. Desjardins, *Minister of Public Works.*
Hon. H. J. Macdonald, *Minister of Interior.*
Hon. L. O. Taillon, *Postmaster-General.*
Hon. D. Tisdale, *Minister of Militia and Defence.*
Hon. E. G. Pryor, *Controller of Inland Revenues.*

Sir Charles Re-enters Parliament

Hon. J. F. Wood, *Controller of Customs.*
Hon. D. Ferguson.
Sir Frank Smith.
J. T. Ross.

In reply to a suggestion from Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the following instructions were sent to the Cable Commissioners :

April 30, 1896.

GENTLEMEN,—A brief discussion took place in the Council before the retirement of the Prime Minister, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, in relation to your instructions on the Cable Commission, shortly to meet in England, and upon which you have been appointed to represent Canada.

There was no difference of opinion on the question of the advantage of the work being undertaken by Her Majesty's Government and the Governments of Canada and Australasia, jointly, as we believe the work can be most advantageously carried out by the adoption of that plan.

The Convention which met in Australia for the appointment of the Australasian Commissioners passed a resolution suggesting that the cost of the undertaking should be borne by the Imperial Government and the Governments of Canada and Australasia in equal parts. We regard that plan as imposing an undue proportion of the cost upon Canada, and we desire you to press for a modification of that proposition ; but having great confidence in the commercial value of the undertaking, and believing that no reasonable grounds exist for fearing any considerable burden will fall upon the Governments jointly interested, we would not be disposed, if better terms cannot be arranged, to refuse to consider the Australasian proposal.

You will, therefore, be expected to do the best you can in the interest of Canada, and keep the Government here constantly advised of the progress of your negotiations, as it is not desirable you should conclude any final arrangements without first having the sanction of the Canadian Government.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

On the day previous to taking the oath of office, Sir Charles received the following telegram :

LONDON,

To SIR CHARLES TUPPER, *Ottawa, Canada.* *April* 30, 1896.

I desire to tender my personal and hearty congratulations on your acceptance of the office of Prime Minister of Canada.

CHAMBERLAIN.

CHAPTER XIV

DEFEAT OF THE CONSERVATIVES (1897)

IN the afternoon of the day on which the Cabinet were sworn into office, Sir Charles left for Montreal. From this point, until the day of the election, his itinerary exhibited that approach to ubiquity which had characterised his activities in all the political campaigns of his long life. Three days in Montreal were sufficient to perfect arrangements with his Quebec colleagues, enabling him to leave Montreal for Winnipeg. We see him on the following day addressing a large meeting while the train stopped at Mettawa, North Bay. On the next day he is surrounded by friends in consultation at Port Arthur and Fort William. Then he is before the Board of Trade at Rat Portage, and receiving the hearty cheering of thousands at Winnipeg station. The next day he spends with the candidates in conference, and in the evening addresses an audience of four thousand. The *Free Press* published a statement that Mr. Laurier had stated at St. Roche that if he should obtain power and it became necessary, he would pass a stronger measure than the Remedial Bill which had been before Parliament, and would give the Catholics their rights. In view of this, Sir Charles appealed to his Protestant friends not to desert him on that issue, to support a French Catholic who had made such a declaration respecting a Remedial Bill.

After conferring further with the candidates and political friends, Sir Charles left Winnipeg on May 10, addressed a meeting at Fort William, and received addresses from the citizens and Conservative Associations of Port Arthur.

Chapleau also gave him an address while the train stopped at that station. On the 13th Sir Charles was again in Ottawa.

We find him on the following day again in Montreal, the next in consultation with Mr. Foster and his French colleagues approving the report of the Treasury Board on "Bounty for Pig Iron," the next day addressing a large meeting at Windsor Hall, then going to Quebec, where he met the Board of Trade and spoke to a large meeting in the evening. On the 19th Sir Charles left Quebec for Nova Scotia, receiving demonstrations at Rivière du Loup, Rimouski, Campbelltown, Amherst, Wallace, Pictou and Westville. After speaking to a large meeting at New Glasgow he left for Sydney, where he arrived on the 21st, and received addresses from the Board of Trade and the Liberal-Conservative Association, speaking to a meeting at half-past three, and before another meeting at Glace Bay at 8 p.m. Again we see him at Sydney, North Sydney, Grand Narrows, Baddeck and St. Peters, where he spoke for an hour and secured the retirement of Mr. H. N. Paint in favour of Mr. Gillis. After addressing a large meeting at Port Hawkesbury, he went to Port Hood and held a meeting at 2 p.m. on May 26. In his journal Sir Charles states that Dr. McLellan brought a crowd of roughs from Margaree Harbour and broke up the meeting, but he addressed the electors from the steamer.

We see Sir Charles next before a large audience at Canso and at Antigonish. After visiting the steel works at Ferrona and New Glasgow, he appears before a large crowd at Pictou, next at Spring Hill, and the last day of May, Sunday, he spent with Senator Primrose at Pictou. On June 1 we see him speaking in the rink at Charlòtte-town, which was crowded with eager listeners. On the third of the month he arrived in Halifax, and was conducted to the rink by a great procession. The rink was crowded and the enthusiasm great. He spoke for two

hours and a half, and the next day left for Montreal, arriving there on the 5th and holding a meeting of the Council.

Sir Charles had been disappointed in securing money to meet necessary expenses in some of the constituencies. On May 27 *La Presse* of Montreal, which had, up to that time, supported him, published an editorial against him and his Cabinet which caused consternation among his supporters.

This editorial was fully explained when the result of the election became known. Here, evidently, the subtle influence of the racial ambition which influenced not only the French of Quebec but every settlement, however small, of French in the whole Dominion, first showed itself, and it continued to gather strength until it culminated in the result of the election.

About this time Sir Charles received the following telegram from his son Stewart, in reply to which he sent an emphatic contradiction of the statement in question :

WINNIPEG,
June 11, 1896.

To SIR CHARLES TUPPER, Prime Minister,
St. Mary's (or forward).

The *Tribune* publishes daily the following : " Ottawa, May 26th. Senator Landry speaking at Montmagny, Quebec, said : ' I am here officially to represent Hon. Mr. Landry, and I must say that I am authorised to state that Sir Charles Tupper is ready to accept and sign any resolution passed unanimously by the Episcopate of Canada as regards the way to settle the school question of Manitoba.' " The *Tribune* adds : " Sir Charles Tupper has been asked to deny this statement if not correct, but so far he has not done so."

J. STEWART TUPPER.

On arriving at Ottawa Sir Charles continued his public labours. He addressed an immense meeting at Ottawa for an hour and a half, much disturbed by Orangemen. Desjardins, his colleague, could not get a hearing. On June 9 he left for Brockville, where he addressed a meeting; then followed two others, the last at Kingston in the evening.

The following day he spoke at Trenton, Brighton, Colborne and Oshawa. The meetings were all large and enthusiastic. The following day he was before a large audience at Bowmansville, preceded by a great reception and procession. At 7 p.m. of the same day he was before an audience at St. Mary's. Joined by Dr. Montague, another large meeting was held in Queen's Avenue Rink. On the following day he addressed three great meetings, judged to be without parallel in Western Ontario—at 9.30 a.m. he met six thousand farmers at Exeter; at 1.30 at Strathroy, with bands and procession; in the evening at Peterborough, processions again and hundreds unable to obtain admission. At 10.30 a.m. on the following day he addressed a meeting at Glencoe, and spoke for an hour and a quarter. He left Glencoe at one. At two he spoke to ten thousand people at Chatham. The meeting was held in the open air, and was preceded by a procession. Sir Charles left at 5 p.m., gave a short address at Stony Point and Bell River, and reached Windsor at 6 p.m. A great crowd met him at the station. He addressed a meeting of two thousand in the Opera House for two hours and a half. He spent Sunday at the Queen's Hotel, Toronto.

On Monday Sir Charles left Toronto at 9.30 a.m., and addressed four thousand people at Brampton in the park, speaking for forty minutes. He stopped at Acton and addressed a large gathering for fifteen minutes, reached Guelph at 2 p.m., and was escorted by a procession a mile long to the rink, where four thousand were unable to obtain admission. At night he was at Berlin, where there was an enormous procession and bands and fireworks. The rink was crowded, and thousands were outside unable to get in, and Sir Charles spoke for two hours, replying to an attack made upon him by the *Globe*. On the 16th, at Niagara Falls, not half of the people who came could gain admission to the hall. He spoke at Thorold for fifteen minutes, reaching St. Catherines at 2 p.m., where

an immense procession escorted him to the drill-shed. He gave an hour's speech on this occasion to a packed building, and at Brantford at 8 p.m. he was met by a great crowd and spoke in the drill-hall for an hour and a half to five thousand people.

Sir Charles was again joined by Dr. Montague, and on the 17th he spoke for fifteen minutes at Caledonia, ten minutes at Haggersville, and fifteen minutes at Tilsonburg, reaching Aylmer at 2.30. There he addressed an open-air meeting for an hour, and reached St. Thomas at 7.45. A great procession escorted him to the rink, where there was a packed meeting and many unable to get in. It was regarded as the greatest demonstration ever seen in St. Thomas, and Sir Charles spoke for an hour and three-quarters. Going by way of Toronto, he reached Coburg on the 18th. The Opera House was crowded, and he spoke for an hour and a half. On the 19th he was in Toronto, the guest of the Hon. Senator Allan, who, with the Hon. Beverley Robinson and Mr. Gooderham, went with him to Massey Hall at 8 p.m. By seven o'clock the hall was crowded by three thousand five hundred people. There Sir Charles spoke for two hours and a half, despite great interruption from Liberals and Orangemen, who, among other cries, shouted: "Manitoba." After taking his seat Sir Charles was informed that while he was speaking the Hon. Beverley Robinson had died in the ante-room.

On the 20th, a very hot day, Sir Charles spoke at Galt for two hours and a half. There, too, he was greeted with a great procession. At night he spoke twice at Hamilton, once in the drill-hall and afterwards in the Opera House. There was an immense procession, and great enthusiasm prevailed. Sunday, the 21st, was spent with Sir Thomas Galt in Toronto. Leaving Toronto on Monday at 6.45, Sir Charles first halted at Iroquois, where he spoke for fifteen minutes, and reached Cornwall at 2.30, where seven thousand people took part in the demonstration. He spoke to

them for an hour and a quarter in the rink. At Alexandria he addressed eight hundred electors for twenty minutes, and arrived at Ottawa at 10.10 a.m., and there spoke in St. George's Ward in favour of the Conservative candidates. This made a total of forty-two speeches in the Ontario campaign, which commenced on the 9th and ended on June 22. This does not sustain the declaration of the Opposition Press, which asserted that the Conservatives had selected a feeble old man to lead them when a general election was pending.

After the disappearance of Sir John Macdonald from the political arena, a Catholic in the person of Sir John S. D. Thompson had been Premier. This was gratifying to the Roman Catholic Church, but not until Mr. Laurier came to the front was there a prospect that a Frenchman would, in the near future, attain to this great honour. The success of Mr. Laurier, therefore, touched and evoked the racial pride and ambition of his people. It is no matter of wonder that under the inspiration of this national sentiment so many Frenchmen changed their political relations in 1896. This new force was not fully seen by Conservatives outside of Quebec. The leaders of the French Conservatives themselves failed to estimate it at its real strength. The prospect of a Frenchman, and a Frenchman of the personal charm and distinguished gifts of Mr. Laurier, winning the honours of the Premiership was most gratifying to the national aspirations of an ancient and great people. Mr. Angers, the French Conservative leader, confidently assured Sir Charles Tupper that after making allowance for the special power Mr. Laurier would exert in the coming contest, the Conservatives would have at least a majority of twenty. When it became known that Quebec had given, instead of a majority of twenty for Sir Charles Tupper, a majority of thirty for Mr. Laurier, all Canada awoke to the fact that the French Premier could count on the racial force for a large and permanent sup-

port in the future. He succeeded in giving the hierarchy a lesson never to be forgotten.

On June 23, in his office at Ottawa, Sir Charles received the returns of the general election. His own majority in Cape Breton was 817, practically the same as in the previous election held in February, but in the general result Mr. Laurier had a majority of over thirty. Sir Charles gave the following interview to representatives of the Press:

"So far as I am personally concerned, I gladly accept the verdict of yesterday, which relieves me from the great responsibilities devolving upon the leader of a Government. When I came to Canada last winter I found the Conservative party utterly demoralised, and was reluctantly compelled to consent to become its leader as the only hope of avoiding defeat. The fatal mistake had been made of refusing to dissolve immediately after the adoption of the Remedial Order, and of calling a session of Parliament to deal with the Remedial Bill, whose life terminated on a specific day, thus offering the greatest possible inducement to obstruction. The recess of Parliament had been allowed to pass without making any adequate efforts to instruct the public mind in relation to the School question, by which much of the misrepresentation and misapprehension respecting that measure might have been removed. I do not at all regret having placed my services at the disposal of the party, as otherwise I would have been held responsible for its defeat. I have fought the fight with all the energy and ability I possess, and am able to say that no public man has ever received more overwhelming evidences of the regard, and I might say affection, of the great Liberal-Conservative party than I have during the past seven weeks while speaking and travelling incessantly. The fact that Ontario is all but evenly divided, and that the other provinces, excepting Quebec, gave the majority to the Government, is of great significance. Down to the last moment I confidently relied upon the accuracy of Mr. Anger's opinion that Quebec would give the Government a majority of twenty. Mr. Laurier, by declaring in the House of Commons and in Ontario that he intended to bow to the will of the majority of Manitoba, confirmed as it was by the emphatic declaration of the Hon. R. W. Scott, enabled him to secure a large amount of support in that Province; while, on the other hand, his declaration at St. Roches, in the Province of Quebec, that 'should the means of conciliation fail, I shall have recourse to constitutional means, and

these I will use fully and in their entirety,' together with the monstrous mis-statement that I had objected to his being Premier on the ground of his being a French-Canadian and a Catholic, has secured him a large majority in that Province.

"The Liberal-Conservative party will now do its duty as a loyal and constitutional Opposition, and in that position will endeavour to protect as far as possible the best interests of the country, while maintaining the great principle of equal justice to all without respect to race or creed to which it has unhesitatingly committed itself. The same policy that it has maintained as a Government it will continue to maintain while in Opposition. Mr. Laurier can, therefore, rely upon a hearty support from me in restoring the rights and privileges of the French Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba—which rights Mr. Greenway has recently declared he will never concede to Mr. Laurier; and if Mr. Laurier will cease coquetting with the National Policy, and come out squarely in favour of maintaining an efficient protection for the varied industries of Canada, he will not encounter that obstruction from the Liberal-Conservative party which we always met with from the opponents of that policy."

When his defeat became known, Sir Charles received many encouraging messages and letters, of which the following are among the most noteworthy:

TORONTO,
June 27, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Whilst we were all greatly disappointed at the result of the elections, I cannot help writing you a line to say how proud we feel at the wonderful change in public opinion which your short tour in the Provinces brought about. No one can, of course, understand as well as yourself the difficulties you had to encounter, but had anyone familiar with the feeling that existed in Ontario, where the naturally ultra-Protestant feelings of the people had been inflamed by persons calling themselves members of the Conservative party, been told that the tide of public opinion would be changed in a few weeks, he would have looked upon his informant as a madman. The truth is, my dear Sir Charles, when you began your tour the party was absolutely disorganised, and it was the exception to find a Conservative who had the courage to openly advocate what he must have known to be right. How you ever managed in the short time at your disposal to unite and consolidate the party and practically secure a majority in the Province

of the intelligent constituencies (the cities were so worked up over the Bill as to have lost their judgment) is almost incomprehensible. Not only had you to fight the Reform party, strengthened by Sir Oliver Mowat, and the enormous influence which the Government wields through its thousands of employees, but also the discontents from your own.

I think the people now fully realise the situation, and judging from expressions on all hands, Messrs. McCarthy and Wallace are getting little credit for astuteness in throwing the Government into the hands of their avowed enemies. At the same time, there appears to be but one opinion as to the conduct of your campaign, and all admit now that your judgment was correct, and had it been accepted and acted upon by the entire party earlier in the day the Provinces at least would have rolled up a handsome majority.

Trusting, my dear Sir Charles, that you may long be spared to guard the destinies of Canada,—I am, Yours faithfully,

THOMAS GALT
(*Sir Thomas Galt, Chief Justice of Ontario*).

LONDON, S.W.,
June 30, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—. . . I received the first intimation of the results of the election in a telegram received from Colmer on landing at the wharf at Bristol, and to say that I am surprised would be but a faint expression of my opinion, particularly when I reflect upon the result of the voting in the different Provinces. I have not yet recovered from surprise and astonishment at the returns from Quebec. What does it mean? Have the people in that Province thrown off the influence of the Church, or did the desire for a French Premier counterbalance all other consideration? I am somewhat inclined to the latter opinion, race having had more influence with the people than creed. Ontario did as well as I anticipated. Manitoba and the North-West much better. The losses in British Columbia are a surprise, and the result in Nova Scotia not such as you had a right to expect. Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick did well. On the whole, I do not envy the position which Laurier now holds. The School question will, I fancy, have to be dealt with, in addition to which he has very foolishly committed himself to a plebiscite on the question of prohibition. . . .

Trusting that you are none the worse for your arduous labours during the last month or six weeks,—I am, Yours sincerely,

MACKENZIE BOWELL.

Defeat of the Conservatives

KINGSTON, ONTARIO,
July 2, 1896.

DEAR SIR CHARLES,—Before mentioning the subject on which I am writing to you, permit me to express, on my own behalf and that of very many friends, our sincere admiration of your noble conduct during the recent contest. Your self-denial and chivalrous devotion must secure the loyal obedience and faithful services of every member of the party.

I saw the whole drama from the time when in tumult and disorder, surrounded by wavering friends and bitter enemies, you generously gave your services to the party, picked up the scattered members, and assumed control on through the terrible ordeal of these last days of the session. Your fearless assertion of truth and justice —your revivifying of the party and bold leadership of it through a campaign far beyond any other in severity and bitterness that this country ever saw—a campaign in which your unparalleled efforts, your skill, and tact secured a victory where it was at all possible. It is not to be wondered at that your followers are truly loyal and have only for you love, respect, and admiration. I believe your triumph is only delayed, and not many years will pass before you will lead to success a united party. We lost here only through the apathy and opposition of our own friends, who under religious fanaticism refused support because the candidate promised to support the policy of the Government on the Manitoba School question. . . . I am sincere and ask you to believe me,—Your most obedient and faithful servant,

M. SULLIVAN
(*Senator*).

A telegram received on the day of the election, announcing the serious illness of his esteemed friend and colleague Sir Leonard Tilley, added to the anxieties of the hour. To the bitter news of the electoral defeat was added that of the death of his friend. Sir Leonard's anxiety for Sir Charles's success was so great that the result of the elections was withheld from him. Sir Charles sent the following telegram to Lady Tilley :

OTTAWA,
June 23, 1896.

Many thanks for your sad message. Cannot tell you what a gloom this melancholy event has cast over the whole country.

CHARLES TUPPER.

The following letter from Sir Charles to Sir Andrew Clarke expresses his view of the election:

OTTAWA,
July 6, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR ANDREW CLARKE,—Pray accept my best thanks for your very kind note of congratulation which reached me in the height of our election campaign, which has just terminated, I regret to say, in the defeat of my Government by a small and heterogeneous majority.

Several causes concurred to bring about this result, among others, no doubt, the desire for a change. The Conservative party have held office continuously in this country for upwards of seventeen years. During this long period Canada has prospered exceedingly under our fiscal policy, so much so that what were formerly its distinguishing features have almost ceased to be matters of controversy.

Religious and racial cries, however, have caused us to suffer what I have every reason to believe is but a temporary reverse.

I have come through the labours of an unusually protracted campaign with no ill results, and look forward, after a brief sojourn on the Opposition benches, to a speedy return to power.—Believe me, Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES TUPPER.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR ANDREW CLARKE, G.C.M.G.,
42 *Portland Place, London, W.*

The Manitoba School Question was without question the rock on which the party was wrecked, and the following telegram indicates the sensitive state of public sentiment on this matter:

TORONTO,
June 21, 1896.

To HON. A. R. ANGERS, *Quebec.*

I have learned that a despatch has been sent to certain newspapers in Quebec intimating that I held a meeting in the Red Parlour here with leading Orangemen, at which I solemnly pledged myself not to introduce remedial legislation in return for Orange support in Ontario. I know who sent the message, and know that his object was to cause mischief in the Province of Quebec. But it is a monstrous lie, without a shadow of foundation. I have not been at the Red Parlour in Toronto, and neither there nor anywhere else have I met any Orangemen in consultation. I have everywhere in Ontario spoken as I spoke in Quebec, declaring that the Government would

be unworthy of respect if it did not consistently and firmly pursue the policy outlined in my manifesto. I trust no one will be misled by the inventions and schemes of the enemy.

CHARLES TUPPER.

It was safe to count Orangemen among the opponents of the Remedial Bill. There was, indeed, a general lack of unity of sentiment among the Protestants of the Dominion. Party affiliations, and the strength of convictions in regard to the justice or expediency of the proposed legislation, did much in determining the course of many. To the Roman Catholic Church, however, one course, and only one course, was open if they would be consistent and prove to the world that their School Policy was grounded in their religious conscience.

The claims of the Roman Catholic Church, at the time historic and proclaimed again and again from the housetops, left no room for the members of that persuasion to take any other course than to support the Remedial Bill with enthusiasm and firmness. There seemed, in view of the character of the question, no other course for Mr. Wilfrid Laurier to pursue, if he would hold his place as a defender of the rights of his fellow-religionists and sustain the judgment of the highest Court of the Empire. But it has been seen that Sir Charles Tupper, in a confidential letter to his son Sir C. H. Tupper, at the time Minister of Justice, gave it as his opinion that Mr. Laurier would not support a Remedial Bill. He knew that Mr. Laurier for five years had been the leader of the party occupying the Opposition benches. In opposing the party in power, every means to weaken and overthrow it had been employed. This relentless criticism had been directed by a number of Canada's ablest men, some of whom, in their zeal, went to the verge of disloyalty in their endeavours to overthrow the Government.

On July 2 Lord Aberdeen returned to Ottawa from Quebec, and Sir Charles called upon him at Government

House. The Governor-General refused to endorse the Order in Council authorising the Government to sign the contract with the Allans for a Fast Atlantic Service, although an Act had been passed by a unanimous vote of Parliament confirming it, subject to the approval of the Parliament which was to meet immediately. He also violated the Imperial practice, and that of Canada, by refusing to allow appointments by a defeated Government, as had been done by Sir John Macdonald in 1873, and by the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie in 1878.

The resignation of the Government was accepted on the evening of July 8. Between that time and the opening of Parliament Sir Charles visited friends in Toronto, Amherst, Truro, Halifax and Cape Breton, and Lady Tupper returned from England in poor health.

The House opened on July 20. Sir Charles had sent a circular to the Conservative members to hold a meeting and elect a leader on the 19th. This was postponed until the 27th, when he was unanimously elected to that position.

CHAPTER XV

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (1896—99)

THE first session under the new Government lasted about six weeks. The chief matters that came up for discussion were: the limitation of the rights of officials to take part in elections; the question of loyalty; the Fast Atlantic Service, introduced by Sir Charles Tupper; and Sir Charles's attack on Lord Aberdeen for the unconstitutional course he had taken in refusing to sanction appointments of the late Government. Sir Charles's well-known views on all these subjects were emphatically reiterated, and the Government rebuked for its wholesale dismissal of officers who had been appointed by the late Government. The first division took place on September 9, which gave the Government a majority of thirty-four.

Three days after Parliament was prorogued, Sir Charles and Lady Tupper celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their wedding. His political relations in Nova Scotia, in the Dominion at large, and in Great Britain, made the event an occasion of no ordinary character. All day long the telegraph wires hummed with congratulatory messages, and the post office delivered its contributions from all parts of the world. A host of callers, forgetting their political differences, vied with each other in offering their hearty congratulations.

Among the large number of presents received were a gold salver from the Conservative members of the House of Commons, and a massive piece of gold plate from the Senate. The gift from the Conservatives of Halifax was

in the form of a combined candelabra and epergne. Suitable gifts came from the Lieutenant-Governors of the Dominion and from numerous persons in all departments of life. The gift from the Conservative members of the House of Commons was accompanied by an address, read by Mr. George Taylor, M.P., chief Opposition Whip. The address from the Senate was read by Sir Mackenzie Bowell:

ADDRESS to Sir Charles Tupper, Baronet, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Privy Counsellor, Member of Parliament, on the anniversary of his Golden Wedding, by Members of the Senate of Canada.

SIR,—The occurrence of so happy an event as that of your golden wedding affords the undersigned members of the Senate of Canada the opportunity of offering to you and Lady Tupper a testimonial in commemoration of the occasion.

A long life passed with distinction in the public service of Canada, both at home and abroad, entitles you to the esteem and respect of all who, like ourselves, recognise your devotion to the duties of State in which you have been so long among the foremost of your countrymen.

We congratulate you on the years and well-merited honours to which you have attained, on the vigour you still exhibit in the advocacy of your opinions, and particularly on the good fortune which has favoured you with the happy companionship of Lady Tupper during half a century of domestic life.

That Providence, which has given you length of days and preserved your domestic circle unbroken, may continue towards you the same gracious dispensation is the sincere hope of those whose good wishes and congratulations accompany the memorial we have the pleasure to present.

To THE HONOURABLE SIR CHARLES TUPPER, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B., D.C., etc., etc.

SIR,—The Members of the Conservative party in the House of Commons desire to take advantage of your golden wedding to present to you and Lady Tupper the accompanying token of their high personal regard, and to express their loyalty to you as its leader, and their appreciation of your great services to your party and to Canada.

Leader of the Opposition

Your career in Provincial politics was singularly successful and distinguished, and has linked your name indissolubly with the development of Nova Scotia, and the attainment of the importance which that Province enjoys, but it is in the wider arena of Dominion statesmanship you have won our admiration and gratitude.

Conjointly with Sir John Macdonald and Sir George Cartier and other distinguished men, you helped to build up that party which created, fostered, and has given stability to Confederation, and by wise and broad statesmanship moulded out of scattered Provinces of diverse races and religions, separated by dividing lines and dividing laws, a united and harmonious Dominion; while instinct with a true national spirit. Your life has spanned the critical period of Canadian history, during which the Dominion was founded and its permanence guaranteed, and you have the proud consciousness that this federation in whose formation you played so prominent a part, has, in all the features which ensure national greatness, progressed in a manner which is without precedent or parallel in the history of other lands. The expansion of our trade, the growth of our manufacturing industries, the rapid rise in our public credit, the creation of our immense facilities for commerce, are the fruits of the wisdom which inspired, and the energy which carried into effect, that broad National Policy with which your name is inseparably connected. While High Commissioner of Canada in London, not only were you to every Canadian who visited England courteous and hospitable, but you became so conspicuous as the defender of every Canadian interest that to-day it is universally admitted you raised that office to one of ambassadorial importance.

You inaugurated the era of Canadian diplomatic relations with foreign countries, and by the success which attended your missions to Madrid, Paris, and Washington, you won the marked approval of your Sovereign and the respect and regard, not only of Canada, but of all the countries with whose governments you mediated.

We congratulate you and Lady Tupper on an event, always rare in human life, and under conditions so happy that they enable us to wish you both, with confident hope, many years to enjoy the wealth of domestic affection which surrounds you, and the esteem in which you are universally held by the party and by the country. —We are, Sir,

YOUR FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS.

Nothing more noteworthy in the many expressions of friendship and esteem received on the occasion of their

golden wedding by Sir Charles and Lady Tupper can be found than the notice of the event by the Toronto *Globe:*

"The golden anniversary of the marriage of Sir Charles Tupper and Lady Tupper, which was celebrated on Thursday last, is an event which will excite interest among all classes in Canada. From their friends Sir Charles and Lady Tupper will receive the congratulations and good wishes of friendship, and from a large circle of people who know neither the one nor the other personally they may be assured of the heartiest good-will. In some respects Sir Charles is one of the most remarkable products of public life in British North America. Of him it is true in very distinct degree that he has two personalities, which are often antithetical—one political and the other individual. His is a double character, to understand whose contradictions it is necessary often to determine whether it is the political Sir Charles or the individual Sir Charles who is acting. His friends find in him characteristics which his political opponents will not credit to him in even the smallest degree. This may be said of most politicians, but the contrast is seldom so striking as in his case. So roundly is the political Sir Charles distrusted by a large portion of the people of Canada that acknowledgment of the remarkable qualities and powers of the man is not met with as generally as the prominence and influence which he has occupied and exerted in our politics would make natural.

"And yet, on this anniversary, marking the even-fall of his long and strenuous political career, men of all politics will unite in wishing that many years may yet be left to him and to the partner of his many successes, as well as the sharer, too, unfortunately, in the sufferings of that arena whose weapons as often find the heart of the non-combatant in the home as of the combatant in the field.

"The first thing which one thinks about in Sir Charles Tupper is his tremendous energy. He is energy concentrated and personified. At seventy-five years he is physically stronger and fitter to endure fatigue than most men at sixty. During the recent elections he made three or four speeches every day, week after week, and came out of the campaign as well as the strongest of his followers. After three or four weeks of constant campaigning, it is said that on the day of his return to Ottawa, and although he had already on that day delivered four speeches, he drove to the committee rooms in the city, late at night though it was, to encourage his workers for the battle of the morrow. It was an exhibition of that splendid fighting spirit which in the bye-elections between 1876 and 1878 and in the

general elections of the latter year made him like a whirlwind. Old Conservatives are fond of telling how Dr. Tupper, then living in Toronto, came into constituency after constituency throughout Ontario in those years of defeat for the Mackenzie Administration and carried everything before him. He was rivalled by few of his contemporaries as a stump speaker and excelled by none. It is allowable if his admirers go farther and call him altogether unrivalled in those days. And there is still in his speeches at times much of the old power and force.

"Upon his return to Canada last fall and his re-entry into Parliament, he was at a fatal disadvantage. He came back from London practically a stranger to Parliament, and a stranger also to the long sequence of circumstances and education of public opinion which had transformed the position of the Government which he joined into a cul-de-sac. He was called upon to lead what proved to be a forlorn hope. It was consonant with the super-sanguineness of his disposition that he should not have seen anything forlorn in the struggle, and yet no leader of a forlorn hope was ever more suited to that kind of desperate close-quarter fighting. . . .

"There can be no doubt he has at heart a strong desire to further the interests of Imperial unity and inter-dependence. In the promotion of his ideas under this head he has spent many years and much arduous exertion. For this the people of Canada will accord him a full measure of acknowledgment, whether or not there may be entire agreement as to Canada's duty in the practical furtherance of the aspirations which we all have for the future of this country. As one of the four living signatories of the Confederation compact he is one of the remaining links which connect the present generation of public men with that galaxy of statesmen who were brought together by the crisis of which the Dominion was born.

"Lady Tupper, who in the year 1846 married the country doctor who three years before had returned from taking his degree at Edinburgh, was born in Amherst, N.S.—the birthplace also of her husband—the daughter of Silas H. Morse, prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, and Elizabeth Stewart, who was sister of the late Master of the Rolls, the Hon. Alexander Stewart, C.B., Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty. In the intervening half century that young girl of twenty has grown into the handsome, stately Lady Tupper, with snowy hair and grave, grey eyes. Her life has been in her family. She has gentle voice, thoughtful speech, and a manner simple and womanly. In London her home was always the centre of a large and gracious hospitality. It is as high tribute as can be

paid her that she has done her duty in womanly fashion to her husband and children, and fulfilled all the claims of her high social position. To her in equal measure as to Sir Charles Tupper the good will and good wishes appropriate to this golden anniversary are extended."

One incident alone occurred to mar the memory of the occasion. The following correspondence shows its nature:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA,
October 6, 1896.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—Will you accept the accompanying little box, which Lady Aberdeen and I desire to present to yourself and Lady Tupper as a token of best congratulations and good wishes upon the happy and auspicious occasion of your golden wedding.—I remain, Yours very sincerely, ABERDEEN.

OTTAWA,
October 8, 1896.

MY DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,—My wife and I thank you and Lady Aberdeen very much for your kind congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of our golden wedding, and for the beautiful box which accompanied them.—Yours faithfully, CHARLES TUPPER.

OTTAWA,
February 9, 1898.

DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,—Your Lordship will, no doubt, have seen the Hansard reports of remarks made in the House of Commons by one of your Ministers in reference to a present sent to Lady Tupper and myself by the Countess of Aberdeen and Your Lordship on the occasion of our golden wedding. Sir Richard Cartwright said:—

"If I am not altogether mistaken in recalling a certain interesting occasion, not so very long ago, in this city, among the many costly tributes which were tendered to the hon. gentleman, not the least costly, not the least elegant, was one presented by the exalted personage referred to. Therefore, I infer that the hon. gentleman is not so implacable as he seems."

I may say that had Your Lordship not announced that gift in the Press before it was received, it would, under the circumstances, have been promptly declined, and now that your Government have intimated in Parliament the opinion that it should preclude my holding them responsible for violations of all British and Canadian precedents, I have much pleasure in returning it and relieving myself

from that implied obligation.—I have the honour to be, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA,
February 10, 1898.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of yesterday, and also the small gold box which was forwarded with it.

Under the circumstances, I feel that I have no alternative but to receive back this present, but I feel it necessary also to remark that my doing so must in no way be regarded as implying acquiescence in your contention that my action in July, 1896, was unconstitutional or actuated by political bias.

Allow me to add that if our little gift on the occasion of your golden wedding was mentioned to the Press before it reached your hands, this was certainly not done by our knowledge or intention. —I remain, Yours very truly,

ABERDEEN.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, Bart.

Sir Charles did not discontinue his active labours. Four days after his golden wedding-day we find him with the Conservative senators and members of Parliament at Montreal. On October 12, three days later, he addressed his friends at Halifax, and on the 20th a meeting of the Liberal-Conservatives at St. John. Four days later he attended the funeral of Dr. Bergen at Cornwall. Then followed meetings with the party at Toronto, addressing the Liberal-Conservative Club at Montreal, and on November 7 he and Lady Tupper sailed from Quebec for Liverpool. His life in England, as in Canada, was active and strenuous. At the request of the Duke of Devonshire, he addressed the British Empire Club at the Mansion House, after which he enjoyed the week-end hospitality of Sir John Lubbock. He was entertained by the United Empire League, on which occasion, when his defeat was deplored as a great blow to mutual preferential trade, he stated to the League that there was no cause for alarm, as Mr. Wilfrid Laurier had publicly stated that he was as strongly in favour of it

as Sir Charles. Therefore, both parties in Canada were united on this question. After dining at the Fishmongers' Hall and responding for the guests, and also at the Chamber of Commerce, Sir Charles received a telegram from G. A. Kirkpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, asking him to call on him at Mr. Allingham's private hospital, 42 South Audley Street, where he immediately went, and found the Governor's condition very serious. Sir Charles, at his request, arranged for a consultation, saw Sir Donald Smith, and cabled to Mrs. Kirkpatrick immediately. The consultation was held on January 1, resulting in the decision that an operation was necessary. Mrs. Kirkpatrick arrived on the following day, and the operation was performed. Sir Charles asked the eminent surgeons how long they thought the Governor would live. They all agreed that he could not live longer than six months. Sir Charles ventured to tell them that, in his opinion, they had underestimated three things—the Governor's constitution, the relief caused by the operation, and the invigorating effect of the Canadian climate. Governor Kirkpatrick lived some two years longer.

On January 6, 1897, in connection with his retirement from the position of High Commissioner for Canada, a banquet was given by the St. George's Club to Sir Charles, and also to the Hon. Sir Robert Herbert on his retirement from the position of Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the Hon. Duncan Gillies on his retirement from the position of Agent-General for the Province of Victoria. Lord Loch being prevented by illness from presiding, the chair was taken by Sir Owen Tudor Burne.

After placing his grandson, C. Stewart Tupper, at school at Stanmore Park, and having enjoyed a dinner with his friend Sir A. Rollit and the Duchess of Sutherland, and a number of other people of distinction, Sir Charles sailed on February 6 for Halifax, where he was the guest of his lifelong friend the Hon. D. McN. Parker, M.D.

Leader of the Opposition

Parliament reassembled on March 26. The Address contained a statement that the Hon. W. Laurier would represent the Dominion at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, and after a congratulatory reference thereto Sir Charles made a slashing attack on the Government with regard to their treatment of the School question, which concluded as follows:

"The hon. gentleman boasts of the settlement he has effected and of the Bill which has been passed. Yet I ask him to state one single privilege, one single right, taken away from the Roman Catholics of Manitoba by the Bill of 1890 which they will enjoy under this Bill. I know of none. I have read the Bill carefully, and I have been unable to find one single privilege that was taken away from them which has been restored by the Bill of which the hon. gentleman seems so proud, and which it seems almost a breach of the constitution to mention in the Speech from the Throne as a settlement. The minority did not ask for what is conceded, and declares that it will not accept it. There has been no petition sent in, no application made by the minority or by anybody representing them, even down to this very hour, that asks for one single thing that has been given by the Remedial Bill, as it is called, of Manitoba."

A letter from Lord Russell of Killowen, introducing Monsignor Merry del Val to Sir Charles Tupper, explicitly states that the mission of the Legate was to aid in settling the Manitoba Schools question:

86 Harley Street, W.,
March 19, 1897.

Dear Sir Charles Tupper,—May I, by this brief note, introduce to you my distinguished friend Monsignor Merry del Val who, as you know, is visiting Canada in relation to the Manitoba educational difficulty? Monsignor del Val desires to make your acquaintance, not only as a distinguished Canadian, but as one whose wide political experience, especially in positions of high responsibility in the Dominion, may help materially in the solution of the existing problem—a problem which I, personally, do not profess to understand in all its bearings. I am sure when you know Monsignor you will thank me for this introduction.

With kindest regards to your son and namesake.—I am, Dear Sir Charles, faithfully,

RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, G.C.M.G., etc., etc.

HONOURED SIR,—It would afford me great pleasure to call upon you at an early date and to hand you a letter of which I am the bearer and which is addressed to you by Lord Russell.

My first stay in Ottawa will have to be a short one, but I intend returning shortly.—Yours faithfully,

RAPHAEL MERRY DEL VAL,
Ap. Delegate.

OTTAWA,
April 5, 1897.

In his journal, Sir Charles says : "I read the letter from Monsignor Merry del Val and called upon him. I discussed the Manitoba School question with him, and told him frankly that the French Catholics having supported Mr. Laurier, I must leave their case in his hands." This was a characteristic decision.

While the Remedial Bill was under discussion in the House of Commons, Mr. Laurier established his reputation as an adroitly clever opportunist. In his attempt to oppose the Remedial Bill, the way was blocked by a remarkable concurrence of conditions and circumstances, but he succeeded in passing through a forest of difficulties to final victory. It was a case of daring and political legerdemain. It is also noteworthy that he was fortunate in having the hand of a skilful diplomatist from the Vatican to lead him through a confusion of difficulties to a place of safety.

The Bishop of St. Boniface, who had borne the heavy labours of carrying the contention for the rights of the minority through the courts of law, did not acquiesce in the alleged settlement by the new Government, but he ceased to be active in contending for the rights of the minority. The neutralising of the active labours of the Canadian hierarchy generally was also observable. Here it is impossible to resist the suggestion that the astute Legate had succeeded in inducing the Roman Catholic

authorities of the Dominion to cease contending for their rights and to accept the arrangement made by the Government.

Now that the Liberal party, which for eighteen years had clamoured for free trade, was in power, the question naturally was raised as to what they would do with regard to the National Policy.

Sir Charles knew that whatever might be the real sentiments of Mr. Laurier and his colleagues, they would not commit the folly of uprooting the successful results of his fiscal policy.

As to the Canadian Pacific Railway, that great undertaking, having justified itself, was now safe from any harm that might come to it from the party then in power. Having lived to see, in the progressive and flourishing condition of the country's industries, a full justification of the eighteen years of labour in which he had taken so consistent and arduous a part, Sir Charles was now conditioned to act as leader of the Opposition without apprehension of any serious damage to the Dominion.

When Mr. Fielding, as Finance Minister, introduced his alleged preferential tariff for Great Britain, Sir Charles showed the Government that the preference would extend to Belgium, Germany, and other most favoured nations. Mr. Fielding and the Government took the ground that Sir Charles was wrong. But Sir Charles was able to point out to them that the Colonial Office had already decided in view of the existing treaties, that while England could change her tariff with another country, Canada could not change her tariff with England without giving the same terms to Belgium, Germany and other favoured nations.

Sir Charles passed through the session of 1897 showing no abatement of enthusiasm, watchfulness, or clear and comprehensive understanding of all the questions considered by the House. Although Mr. Fielding's Budget was subjected to a

scathing criticism by Mr. George E. Foster, it also came under a galling fire from the well-charged batteries of the leader of the Opposition. The delay in securing a Fast Atlantic Steamship Service was not allowed to pass without another protest from Sir Charles, who had bequeathed to his successor a contract for this service, ready to be signed.

Soon after the prorogation Sir Charles, Lady Tupper, and their granddaughter Marie took leave of a large company of friends on the wharf at Montreal, and sailed on the *Parisian* for Liverpool. On arriving in London, Sir Charles declined an invitation from the High Commissioner to dine at the Hotel Cecil, to meet Mr. and Mrs. Laurier.

The welcome everywhere received by Sir Charles and Lady Tupper was as warm and full as when he held the position of High Commissioner, and they attended many social functions. Sir Charles went with the Canadian deputation to a meeting of the British Empire League, where he gave an address, and following this was a party at Buckingham Palace.

A report of the doings of the Conference of Colonial Premiers, of which Sir Wilfrid Laurier[1] was a member, appeared in the *Standard,* from which the following extract is taken :

"Naturally, the debate on the question of closer trade relations resolved itself into the consideration of the position of Canada in respect of her preferential tariff, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, supported by every other Premier, strongly urged Mr. Chamberlain to denounce the treaties with Belgium and Germany, which are said to stand in the way of preference being given by Canada to Great Britain. . . ."

Mr. Chamberlain said that if all the Premiers united in a resolution, the Government would consider the denunciation of the treaties with Belgium and Germany. This was done, and the treaties were denounced.

Sir Charles and Lady Tupper went to St. Andrews on

[1] The honour of K.C.M.G. was conferred upon Mr. Laurier this year.

a visit, where Sir Charles spoke at the closing exercises of a school kept by Mr. Blonts. The rector of the University was present, and told Sir Charles that he heard an old lady say: "I am delighted to have heard a speech from the author of 'Tupper's Proverbial Philosophy.'"

Professor Patigrew took Sir Charles to his workshop, where he showed him a flying machine which he was then constructing. Metaphorically the flying machine was in the air in 1897, practically in 1911.

On September 9, in company with Lady Tupper and their granddaughter Marie, Sir Charles sailed from England for Canada. He travelled continuously until he reached the goldfields in British Columbia, where his presence as chairman of the company—a position he had recently accepted—was required.

Passing on to Victoria, he became the guest of Governor Dewdney, where he received the following letter from the Hon. Sir G. F. Bowen, which bears witness to the affluence of his social nature and the power he exercised wherever he went:

CADENABBRA,
LAGO DI COMO, ITALY,
October 4, 1897.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—You will be surprised at receiving a letter from me from Italy. The fact is that Lady Bowen has just had a letter from her cousin, Mrs. Bayly, who lately crossed the Atlantic with you, and speaks in warm terms of the kindness which Lady Tupper and you showed her during the voyage and in giving her introductions for Canada. She adds that you also spoke in friendly terms of me, and hoped that I would let you know how grateful she feels for your kindness.

You and I, Li Hung Chang, the Archbishop of Canterbury [Temple], and the Dean of Westminster [Bradley] are now almost the only survivors of the men of 1821, who a few years ago filled so many prominent posts in Church and State. I think I told you before that the late Chief Justice, Lord Coleridge (a '21 man), once asked me why so many men who had been successful in their several careers were born in 1821, and that I replied: "Oh! Napoleon I.

died in 1821, and Nature abhors a vacuum, so she created all of us to fill the place of the one great man!" I made the same remark at Peking to Li Hung Chang, who replied that he was the Bismarck and not the Napoleon of China! I repeated this at Berlin some years ago to the great Bismarck, who was much pleased, observing that he had a great admiration for Li Hung Chang, who had done so much for the consolidation of China, as he himself for the consolidation of Germany. I make you a present of this story, to be repeated to any '21 man in Canada!

I am in fair health for our age, and hope that you are so too. I have heard several statesmen and others express much regret that you are no longer in London.

We are going to winter in Rome, where I have many friends from the King and Queen downwards. I love Italy, and it is pleasant to live in the only country on the Continent in which England is popular. We are hated everywhere else, partly from jealousy of our success in commerce and colonisation, and partly from other causes. This feeling resembles that which led to the famous "League of Cambray" against Venice in the sixteenth century. It was amusing to find Joe Chamberlain and Labouchere in the same hotel on the Lake of Como. Though such bitter enemies at Westminster, they got on fairly well here, such is the camaraderie of the House of Commons, though Joseph is rather bitter at having been called Judas in *Truth*. Chamberlain deserves great credit for his management of the Colonial part of the Jubilee festivities, and is certainly a strong man.

I know Lord and Lady Aberdeen. He is an hereditary friend of my family—my father having been a friend of his grandfather—the Prime Minister. I hope they get on well in Canada. She is a woman of unusual energy and activity. I trust that Australia will soon follow the example of Canada by federating. But the Australians have no pressure from without, as the Canadians had in the neighbourhood of the United States,

> "The young and strong Republic that has filled the world
> with fame,
> And with great praise and marvel of the Anglo-Saxon name!"

as Lord Strangford sings in one of his ballads.

It would be very kind if you would write me a few lines at your leisure. With best wishes and regards for you and Lady Tupper.—I remain, Yours very truly,

G. F. Bowen.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bt., G.C.M.G.

P.S.—*Vive les hommes de* 1821!

Leader of the Opposition

A Scottish laird produced an immortal saying: "The head of the table is where my chair happens to be." Wherever Sir Charles happened to be, there life was breezy. On the floor of the House of Commons, in political campaigns, before audiences in barns and halls, on the decks or at the tables of steamers, in the privacy of family life, among his friends—everywhere dullness was absent, and pessimism vanished through the doors. Either sunshine and soft zephyrs, or menacing clouds and tempests attended him throughout his entire political life. Where, or when, or how he replenished his batteries with nervous energy and high spirits, no one has ever learned.

While at Victoria attentions were lavished upon Sir Charles—dinners by the Mara Club and at Government House, a ball for the hospital, a luncheon at Senator Macdonald's. He gave also his benediction to the Jubilee Hospital Nunnery and Orphanage. He listened to a lecture on the Klondyke by Mr. Ogilvie, and complied with the request to address the same meeting. From Victoria he went to Westminster, where the Conservative party was aroused and encouraged by a stirring speech from the venerably young leader. At this place, Liberals and Conservatives united in giving him a banquet, at which he said, in the course of his speech:

"he had a complaint to make against previous speakers. 'I want to know,' he said, 'what these gentlemen mean in talking of my advancing years. (Laughter.) I want to know what it is that excites almost the commiseration of these gentlemen. I want to know what it is fills them with such profound astonishment that I am still able to take some little share in public affairs. It reminds me very much of a story that is told in England. The British Government appointed a Wreck Commissioner. They appointed a very able and distinguished man. His duty was to go to the scene of wrecks and furnish full particulars. He was, of course, always on the lookout for wrecks. Coming down Pall Mall one fine morning, he met Lord Granville and another nobleman sauntering along down to the club, and he said he was delighted to see their lordships looking so

well. Lord Granville drew himself up and said, "What did you expect to see, sir? Two damned old wrecks?" It is an old saying that a woman is only as old as she looks, and a man is only as old as he feels, and if I have reached a somewhat advanced period in my age, the pleasure that I enjoy on an occasion like the present makes me forget it. If my age is to be judged by my feelings, I am not quite so old as my friends seem to imagine.'"

On returning to Winnipeg, Sir Charles received an urgent cable requesting him to attend an important meeting of the Gold Fields company at London. He responded to this request. While taking his breakfast in the cabin of the steamer at New York, one of the directors of the company introduced himself and asked this question: "Are you the Sir Charles Tupper who spoke at the opening of the United States line at Southampton?" Having received an affirmative reply, he placed at the service of Sir Charles one of the best suites of rooms on the boat. Who—after this—will say that corporations have no soul?

Sir Charles reached Southampton on November 17, attended the meetings of the Gold Fields company at London, and left England on December 15 for Canada. In the early part of January he attended banquets given in his honour at Winnipeg and in several centres of the North-West. He was accompanied by Hugh John Macdonald, who was heard, together with Sir Charles, at a number of large meetings. At Morden Sir Charles spoke for three hours and a quarter.

On January 20, 1898, Sir Charles was at Montreal, assisting his political friends in establishing a French newspaper.

Parliament assembled on February 3, and Sir Charles was heard on the address.

In securing and protecting Canadian interests, Sir Charles proved himself as watchful as ever. He called the attention of the Government to the discussion in the United States Senate, and a Bill passed by that body relative to Canadian goods going into the Stickine River.

He opposed the confirming of the contract made with Messrs. Mann and McKenzie for building a railway to the Yukon.

On March 22 the subject of making the franchise of the Provinces the Dominion franchise was under consideration. It received the vigorous opposition of Sir Charles Tupper.

In April Sir Charles was heard on the Budget, and in seconding a resolution moved by Sir Richard Cartwright referring to the death of Mr. Gladstone, he said :

"I am quite certain that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir Richard Cartwright) who is leading the House to-day has rightly interpreted the feeling of the House and the universal feeling of the people of Canada in proposing the resolution which is now in your hands. The world recognises the fact that probably the most conspicuous man of the present century has now passed away. Nature endowed Mr. Gladstone with the highest intellectual faculties, and these, with his indomitable energy and untiring industry, exercised throughout a long life, made him, as I have said, probably the most conspicuous person in the world in connection with all the great public movements that have affected mankind in general. He was noted not only for his remarkable intellectual power, but for his ripe scholarship, so that he was, perhaps, above and beyond any other man in the world possessed of the greatest amount of knowledge covering the widest range of subjects who has appeared in any country. Not only has his life been one of untiring industry, but the position he has occupied for more than half a century has made his words and actions of the utmost importance to every portion of the civilised world.

"No person's views have been studied, no person's opinions have been watched with greater or deeper interest, and I think we all recognise that not only the British Empire where the English language is spoken, but in all countries, he occupied a distinguished position as an orator. Oratory has perhaps been best defined by the expression that it consists in feeling the truth and speaking it; and I may say from personal experience that I believe it was absolutely impossible for any man, whether he agreed or disagreed with the opinions and sentiments expressed by that great man, to listen to him upon any important subject without arriving at the conclusion that every word he uttered came from the bottom of his heart, and that he believed most implicitly in the truth of what he said."

After making a speech in favour of constructing the Pacific Cable, Sir Charles, accompanied by Lady Tupper and their granddaughter Marie, left for England. Parliament was not prorogued until June 13. At the request of Castell Hopkins, Sir Charles wrote an introduction to the third volume of the "Canadian Encyclopædia." Having transacted the business which called him to England, he and his family embarked from Liverpool on July 21 for Canada. After his return we find him visiting his constituency, where he received a hearty reception at Sydney, North Sydney, Glace Bay, Victoria Mines, also at Louisburg, Gabarus, Grand Mira, Port Morien, Grand Narrows and Whycogomah. Addresses, replies and formal speeches marked this visit to Cape Breton. Sir Charles addressed meetings at New Glasgow, Pictou and Westville, dined with the Halifax Club, opened the exhibition at St. John, and had a long discussion with Messrs. Fielding, Blair and Patterson, in which he used his best endeavours, as he had declared to his friends in Sydney that he would, to induce the Government to reconsider their refusal to grant a bounty on the production of steel. While in St. John he addressed a large audience in the Mechanics' Institute, where in 1860 he started the ball of Confederation rolling. After a brief visit to Montreal, Sir Charles and his family sailed again for England. From London, his family being increased by taking in his granddaughter Sophie Gray, they went for a visit to the Continent, saw Paris, Lucerne, Milan, Venice, Rome, Pompeii, Capri, Alexandria, Pisa and Turin. On January 5, 1899, they took passage in the *California* from Liverpool for Halifax, which place they reached on the 16th.

As an election was now in the near future, Sir Charles plunged again into campaign work, and spoke first at Clinton and Goderich. He accepted an invitation from Lieutenant-Governor Mowat to dine at Government House, Toronto, and addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting at the Pavilion. Together with sixty other gentlemen, he

lunched with Senator Sandford at Hamilton, and dined with the Bicycle Club. On March 2, in the Red Parlour of the Queen's Hotel, Toronto, he deliberated with the Conservative Committee on ways and means for the coming election. Mr. Brock was appointed treasurer of the subscription funds, and Mr. Barker was requested to be Sir Charles's assistant.

On his return to Ottawa, Sir Charles attended a dinner given to Lord Minto at the Rideau Club, and proposed the health of the Countess. Again he invited the members of Parliament to partake of his hospitality at a series of dinners. On March 13 he addressed the Conservative Association at Lower Town, and on the 16th Parliament opened. He gave a speech four and a half hours long on the reply to the Address from the Throne, in which he reminded the House of the five years of depression from 1873 to 1878, the introduction of the National Policy, the return of prosperity, and that the country was just emerging from a long season of world-wide depression when the Liberals came into power in 1896. He gave much time to the burning question of the Alaskan Boundary, and the adjournment of the International Commission which had been sitting at Quebec, having for its object the settlement of this important subject. He supported, in an able speech, a resolution to appoint a judicial commission on the matter of the Yukon Administration, a subject on which Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper had spoken at length. On March 17, while the House was in session, Sir Charles addressed a large meeting at Brockville in favour of Mr. White. Through the Liberal Attorney-General Longley, he accepted an invitation to address the Halifax Exhibition in the following September. An invitation from Lindsay to give a lecture before the Collegiate Institute, which he accepted, is an instance of his political labours being varied by addresses to literary societies.

On the occasion of his assisting at the founding of a Chair of Political Economy at Queen's University, King-

ston, to commemorate the memory of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles received the honorary degree of LL.D. He was given a most enthusiastic reception, the students joining in due form in the cordial welcome.

Following his speech criticising the Budget, Sir Charles asked that the communications between the Canadian Executive and the Colonial Office, in the matter of Lord Aberdeen refusing to sanction the appointments made by the late Government, be laid on the table. The whole matter was again discussed, Sir Charles sustaining his contention by giving the course pursued by English and Canadian Cabinets under similar conditions.

The Drummond County Railway contract and the Redistribution Bills were both opposed by Sir Charles.

Sir Charles warmly supported the Finance Minister (Mr. Fielding) in his proposal to extend the time of the Act allowing a bounty on iron and steel.

After discussing the motion which he submitted on Mutual Preferential Trade, Sir Charles made a proposal to deal with the refusal of the United States to submit the question of the Alaskan Boundary to an International Arbitration by passing two Acts, by unanimous vote of the House, to construct a railway from Kittemat Arm to Dawson and to assimilate Canadian Mining Law to that of the United States, to be brought into operation by a proclamation of the Government, unless the United States would agree to leave the question of the Alaskan Boundary to an International Arbitration in the usual way. Sir Charles gave another address in support of the Pacific Cable, and opposed the reduction of the amount proposed by the Government for cold storage. On July 31 he addressed a large audience at Riverdale Park, Toronto. Subsequent to this he seconded the motion made by Sir Wilfrid Laurier to elect Mr. Thomas Bain as Speaker.

On August 3, 1899, Sir Charles and family left for England. At this time the question of sending Canadian

contingents to South Africa was a burning one. On August 23, while in London, Sir Charles received a telegram from Mr. Hugh Graham, of the Montreal *Daily Star,* which he sent to the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. Joseph Chamberlain :

August 25, 1899.

Surely something more than passing resolutions should be done here to strengthen British Government's hands. If idea commends itself to you, say to the proper persons that you know one in Canada who would gladly make such offer to provide for dependents killed or wounded as would likely induce raising Canadian regiment for Transvaal if needed.

H. G.

August 26, 1899.

My dear Mr. Chamberlain,—I enclose you a cable received yesterday from Mr. Hugh Graham, the proprietor of *The Daily Star* of Montreal, one of the most influential and widely circulated papers in Canada. Mr. Graham is a gentleman of large means and great public spirit. The inauguration and management of the famine fund for India was entirely due to his efforts. You can rely confidently upon his generous offer being carried out to the fullest extent. Col. Hughes, a member of the House of Commons of Canada, requested me to say to you that he felt assured that he could raise a regiment in Canada to be placed at the service of the Imperial Government in the Transvaal, and I have no doubt that with this co-operation from Mr. Graham it can be done. You have already learned from my letter, read by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the House of Commons, that I attach great importance to the support by Canada in aid of your efforts to secure justice for the Uitlanders. I am obliged to sail for Montreal on the 7th of September, but if you should wish to see me in the meantime I will be quite at your disposal.—Yours faithfully,

Charles Tupper.

Colonial Office,
August 29, 1899.

My dear Sir Charles Tupper,—I thank you heartily for your letter and its enclosure. I thoroughly appreciate the patriotic spirit of Mr. Graham and the spirit shown generally in Canada in reference to our present difficulties with the Transvaal. I shall bear both in mind, and if it should become necessary to send out a large expedition it will be a great satisfaction to me that it will be accom-

panied by representatives of the Colonial forces, and that the unity of the Empire will in this way be practically demonstrated.

I hope you are well and have enjoyed your holiday. I am sorry to have missed you, but I have nothing special with which I need trouble you. With all kind regard.—Believe me, Always yours very faithfully,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

P.S.—I trust you will kindly convey to Mr. Graham my sense of his generous offer.

Sir Charles, returning from England, reached Quebec on September 17. He met the delegates of Cumberland County at Amherst, and succeeded in inducing Mr. Arthur Dickey to contest the county. He fulfilled his engagement with the Hon. J. W. Longley, President of the Agricultural Exhibition, by addressing that body at Halifax on September 27. The Lieutenant-Governor and Minister of Finance were present. On that occasion Sir Charles again expressed the hope that the Government would send a contingent to aid the British in South Africa, and in doing so pledged them his hearty support. Before leaving Halifax he addressed his friends in the Masonic Hall. For two hours he spoke to a large and memorable meeting on the Methodist camp meeting grounds at Berwick, and he told the people of Yarmouth, in an address at their County Exhibition, that he had sent a telegram to Sir Wilfrid Laurier respecting the sending of a contingent to South Africa. Sir Charles had heard that Sir Wilfrid had refused to send troops to aid the British in the Transvaal.

The following correspondence subsequently passed in connection with this telegram :

HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA,

October 14.

DEAR SIR WILFRID LAURIER,—I regret to learn that the telegram I sent you from Yarmouth on the 5th inst. was not received by you until yesterday, owing to some delay in transmission at Halifax.

The announcement is made to-day that the Government of Canada has consented to send a Canadian contingent to the Transvaal, on condition that a large share of the expense and pay of the men is to be borne by the Mother Country.

Leader of the Opposition

It is to be hoped that Canada, if it is to show its loyalty by having troops in the Transvaal, will undertake the affair in a generous, patriotic, and Canadian spirit, and that the Dominion contribution will be made in such a way that the men will be entitled to rank as Canadians fighting for the Empire.

I am confident that patriotic Canadians to-day hope that, even at this late date, there will be forwarded by Canada to Natal an efficient force, representative as far as practicable, well officered, and properly paid by the Dominion.

Then Canada may be congratulated by the world as having the courage of its convictions and doing the right thing in the right way.

The offer of the gentlemen, to whom I have referred in the telegram, and whose means are ample for the purpose, to provide an insurance to the extent of $1,000,000 to meet any casualties that may occur, will greatly lessen the expenditure involved on the part of the Dominion.

Again assuring you of my readiness to give you all the support in my power in this matter in Parliament, which has been practically sanctioned by a unanimous vote in both Houses.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

To THE RIGHT HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER, G.C.M.G.,
Prime Minister of Canada, *Ottawa.*

OTTAWA,
October 14.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day.

It is quite true that your telegram addressed to me from Yarmouth on the 5th of this month never reached me until yesterday, when after inquiries made, on my request, at the telegraph offices in this city, it was found that it had never left Halifax. However, I had been made familiar with it along with the whole people of Canada, to whom you had taken the precaution of communicating it.

I am sorry to hear from you that the action which the Government has taken to have one thousand Canadian volunteers sent to the Transvaal seems to you insufficient, inasmuch as "a large share of the expense and the pay of the men is to be borne by the Mother Country."

I have the authority of His Excellency the Governor-General to enclose to you a copy of a dispatch from the Colonial Office which will cause you, I am sure, to reconsider your opinion.

You will see by reading this dispatch that the Government has

faithfully accepted the request and adhered to the plan of campaign prepared by the Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief.

I question whether in a matter of this kind it would be advisable to be "more loyal than the Queen" or wiser than the Secretary of State for War and the Commander-in-Chief.

I question further whether our volunteers would really require to be placed on a better footing in the field than their brother volunteers from the other British Colonies, and for my part I venture to believe that inequality of treatment between Colonial troops all engaged in the same noble work would be of very questionable wisdom.—Yours respectfully,

WILFRID LAURIER.

THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., M.P.,
Ottawa.

Although in his seventy-ninth year, Sir Charles rushed from place to place reconciling differences, making general preparation for the coming election, and giving public addresses as if he were totally ignorant of fatigue or exhaustion. At Sherbrooke, Quebec, he induced Mr. McIntosh to agree to run for the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Ives. He received at Toronto a deputation respecting the Transvaal, and wrote an open letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. At Owen Sound he received an address from a deputation, to which he made an extended reply, and in speeches at two public meetings he reviewed the history of the two political parties, pointing out the deficiencies of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government.

Two days after addressing the Woodbridge Fair, Sir Charles appeared before a large audience in Massey Hall, Toronto, and two days after that he perfected the insurance of the first Canadian Contingent of one thousand men to the extent of one million dollars in the Ocean and Accident Company in England, on the assurance from Mr. Hugh Graham that he would pay the premium. Immediately after this Sir Charles addressed large meetings at Farnham, Knowlton and Bedford. Mr. Casgrain, M.P., who accompanied him, also spoke at the meetings. After addressing a large audience for two hours at Ottawa, Sir

Charles spoke at Prescott for an hour and a half to over one thousand people, and on November 2 left for Winnipeg, where he addressed a large assembly. Then followed similar meetings at Gladstone, Minnedosa and Portage la Prairie. He was accompanied on this trip by the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald, who also spoke at these meetings. At Indian Head another large assemblage was addressed, and before returning to Winnipeg he spoke at Selkirk. His labours were continued by receiving four addresses and speaking an hour and a half at Brandon, and addressing meetings at Verden, Moosomin, Emerson, Manitou, Crystal City and Oak Lake. Mr. Connell was nominated at Moosomin. On December 7 the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald carried the Province of Manitoba by a large majority for the local Legislature.

On his way to Vancouver, Sir Charles addressed a torchlight procession at Moosomin, and spoke at Regina, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat and Calgary. He held a large meeting at Victoria, where he arrived on December 15. Passing over to Vancouver, he addressed a large mass meeting in the City Hall, another at New Westminster, one at Kamloops, and another at Revelstoke. On his return journey he held a large meeting and attended a banquet at Macleod. Accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Davin, he left for Lethbridge, where he had a hearty reception and an enthusiastic meeting. From this point he went north and held a meeting at Strathcona, where he met with an accident. While crossing the Saskatchewan River at midnight, the sleigh in which he was driving capsized, and he received a serious injury to his knee, but was able to leave for Ottawa, where he arrived on the 18th and received a most hearty reception.

Fully to justify giving the details of these public meetings in midwinter, it is only necessary to advert to the phenomenon that they were conducted by a man in his seventy-ninth year.

CHAPTER XVI

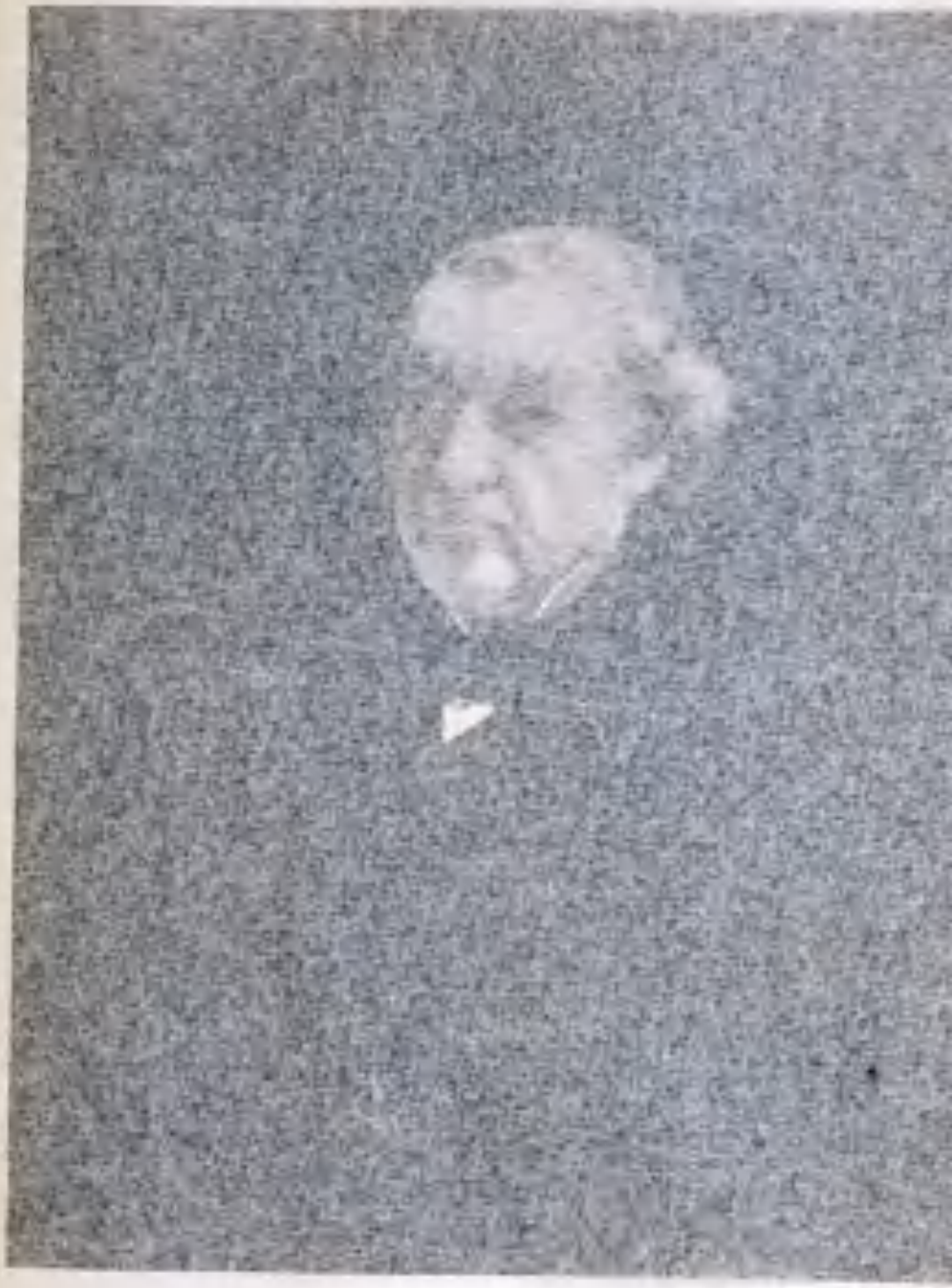
CLOSE OF POLITICAL LIFE (1900)

SIR CHARLES'S keen interest in the Empire was exhibited by his activities in the South African War period: he responded to an invitation from British residents in Boston to give them an address on the war. He had a reception at Harvard University, where he replied to an address from the President of that institution. In the evening he spoke to a crowded assemblage in Tremont Temple, where a collection of five thousand dollars was taken, to be forwarded to the Lord Mayor of London in aid of the British troops in South Africa. On March 7, 1900, at Ottawa, Sir Charles attended the presentation of a flag to the Strathcona Horse, and addressed them.

On March 15, in reviewing the policy of the Government, Sir Charles again reiterated and emphasised his opinions in reference to preferential trade. On the 18th of the month he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, and urged that Lord Strathcona's peerage should descend to his daughter and her son. He received, in reply, a letter stating that Mr. Chamberlain would do all in his power to carry out this suggestion. This was done.

During the session of 1900 Sir Charles made a speech in favour of Newfoundland becoming a part of Canada, and also replied to Sir Richard Cartwright on the Budget.

On June 12 Sir Charles attended a dinner at the University of Toronto, at which he responded to the toast, "Our Defenders." He spoke also at Odessa, Shawville and Haggersville. On June 19 he moved a resolution to give representation to the Yukon Territory in the House of Commons.



CHAPTER XVI

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SIR CHARLES TUPPER (1901)
From a portrait by his granddaughter
L. F. CAMERON

Close of Political Life

At the end of June Sir Charles went by the *Tunisian* from Montreal for Liverpool. In London he and Lady Tupper visited Lord Strathcona, attended the Queen's garden-party at Buckingham Palace, and Sir Charles spoke at a meeting of the British Empire League. He returned to Canada, arriving in Montreal on August 19.

On August 24 Sir Charles was at his old home in Amherst. His friend from boyhood, and a faithful associate in political life, the Hon. A. R. Dickey, had lost his life by drowning, and it became necessary to find a man to take his place as the Conservative candidate in the county election. C. H. Cahan, of Halifax, at the urgent request of Sir Charles, met him at Amherst. At a meeting in the Academy of Music, Mr. Cahan was nominated. On leaving an upper room in which the nomination had taken place, Sir Charles's foot slipped on the stairs, giving a severe wrench to his knee, but he persisted in attending the public meeting, where, although in great pain, he spoke for an hour. His power to endure physical suffering here exhibited calls to mind his experience with the mesmerist recounted earlier.

On his return to Halifax, Sir Charles fulfilled an engagement to speak at a patriotic concert for the benefit of volunteers to South Africa. He attended the gathering on crutches, and spoke in a heavy rain to a large audience in the Public Gardens. On his way to Cape Breton he spoke at Port Mulgrave, and at midnight had a great reception at Sydney. At a political convention held at this place he spoke for an hour and a half. He told his constituents that he must leave his election in their hands, as his labours were much needed in Ontario. Another meeting was held in the evening, at which both Sir Charles and Mr. R. L. Borden spoke.

An offer had been made to him by which he could have been elected by acclamation, suitable provision to be made for his colleague; but compromise was not a part of his

political creed. Rather would he fight it out to the bitter end, and enjoy a victory or endure defeat like a gentleman and a brave soldier. In his journal is found this entry: "Attorney-General Longley called upon me at Ottawa, and said that he was authorised to say that if I would consent to run with Mr. Johnstone, one of the Liberal opponents, I would be returned by acclamation, and my colleague would obtain an office in the Dominion Steel Works at a salary to his satisfaction. I declined this proposal, which I had no doubt was a bona fide one."

On his return from Cape Breton, Sir Charles spoke from the car at Antigonish, addressed a meeting at Westville, and spoke to a crowd on the wharf at Pictou as he embarked for Prince Edward Island. At half-past nine he addressed another crowd from the balcony of the hotel at Charlottetown. At one o'clock on the following day he attended a political convention in that city, and in the evening spoke to four thousand people in the rink. The day following he attended a convention at Summerside, and spoke to a large body of people in the open air. After crossing the Strait, he addressed the people from the car at Shediac, and a crowded audience in the rink at Moncton. The next evening he was heard by a large audience in St. John. Two days later he was met at Montreal by Hugh John Macdonald, when both addressed a large assembly. On the evening of the 11th they spoke at the Monument National, and the day following at Alexandra. The next day Sir Charles was before a sympathetic audience at Napanee, where he exposed a misleading report made much of by his opponents, that he had said Sir Wilfrid Laurier was too English for him. At Belleville, where he had a magnificent reception, he addressed a gathering of ten thousand people in Agricultural Park. After a night's sleep he had another reception at Brighton at 11 a.m., spoke at Coburg at 2 p.m., and at Port Hope at eight. Two days later he addressed a large meeting in the rink at Guelph,

and the next day one at Barrie. The day following he opened the Collingwood Exhibition at 2 p.m., and in the evening spoke to a mass meeting of six thousand at Toronto. On the morrow he was before a large meeting at Tara, where he met Alexander McNeill. The evening was given to another meeting at Wiarton. Then came a meeting at Strathroy, and another at London in the rink. On September 23 Sir Charles met his political friends at Toronto, on the 24th at Ottawa, on the 25th at Montreal, on the 26th at Quebec, and on the 28th at Amherst. On October 1 he delivered an address at Truro, on the 2nd at North Sydney, on the 6th at Pugwash, on the 7th at Spring Hill, on the 9th at Parrsboro, on the 15th at Annapolis, and on the 16th at Digby. On the 20th he was among his friends in the Committee Rooms in Toronto, where he spoke for McLean, Brock and Kemp. On the 24th he addressed a meeting at the Opera House at Lindsay for two hours. On the 25th another meeting was addressed at Smith's Falls, and on the next day one at Brockville; on the 27th one in the Opera House at Windsor, and another on the 29th at 8 p.m. On the 30th he spoke at Chatham at 1 p.m., and again at London in the evening in the rink.

On October 31 Sir Charles left for Sydney, and on November 2 he had an interview with his friends in New Glasgow; on the 3rd he spoke at Bridgeport and addressed a letter to the electors. On the 5th he gave an address at Baddeck, the last before the election, which took place on the 7th. On the 6th he arrived at Halifax, where he was the guest of Senator McKeen. After casting his vote in the city, and having learned the result of his own election at 10.30 p.m., he telegraphed to Lady Tupper that at last he was honourably released from the duties of public life, and was now at liberty to devote the evening of life to her and their children. As the telephone at last brought word to him that the party had again been defeated, the few friends present looked somewhat sad, but Sir Charles

remarked cheerfully: "Do not let a trifling matter like this interfere with the pleasures of a social evening." The last entry in his journal of the day's events was: "I went to bed and slept soundly."

If ever flesh and blood had need of and the right to a rest, here is an unquestionable instance. But no! As soon as the train could get him to Montreal, he was there. On the 9th he gave the Montreal *Star* an interview. His valedictory appeared in this paper.

"Perhaps there never was tendered to any public man in Canada such a testimonial as awaited Sir Charles Tupper on his arrival in Montreal this morning. There were letters and telegrams from every part of the Dominion, expressive of sympathy and good will, and amongst them there were messages from six Provinces from sitting members offering to resign their seats and promising to work to elect Sir Charles. When asked what his decision was to be, Sir Charles was firm in the declaration that under no circumstances, even if offered a seat by acclamation, would he consent to re-enter political life. 'I am deeply moved,' said Sir Charles, 'by these expressions of good will,' as he showed the budget of telegrams, 'but my decision is final. For four years I have worked in season and out of season for the good of the party to the best of my ability. I have shortened my life by the privations incident to campaign work. My friends, colleagues in the House, are good enough to say very kind things about me and that work. They are too considerate, but I thank them cordially for the expressions of good will.

"'In the quiet of my home life I will not be an indifferent spectator of public events. I will take the greatest pleasure in seeing the Conservative party now united to a man taking its place in the House and before the country waging their battle by younger men, full of vigour, hope, endurance, and having behind them a good cause, the securing for the people of Canada wise legislation, righteous laws, and fair play to all creeds and nationalities. As I step out of public life I am proud to be able to say that I never used nor countenanced the using of any but one policy in each and all the provinces. I defy any man to say that I have ever reflected upon any nationality or done other than help to cement the bond of union between all the races as Canadians with a common heritage and a common future. God forbid that there should be anything but peace and good will throughout the Dominion. There is a great future for the Conserva-

tive party, and its future has not at any time in four years looked as bright as to-day.'

"When the aged statesman reached the Conservative rooms in the Standard Building there were a large number of prominent Conservatives waiting to express their sympathy and the hope that he would change his decision. To all these Sir Charles bowed his acknowledgments, and said: 'Gentlemen, with all seriousness, this relief from public life is a boon, the greatest I have enjoyed for years. Remember my age. The party would not listen to the idea of my resigning. I could not insist upon doing so against a united protest, and now the good people of Cape Breton county have given me the opportunity. I made no great effort to hold Cape Breton, for I felt my duty to my party was to be in the fight to help my supporters rather than to concentrate my efforts upon one seat. I was in the county only four days. I have nothing but what is pleasant to say of the electors of Cape Breton, and at this moment, as I leave the arena, my heart goes out to all Canada in the hope that peace and prosperity may abound.'"

From Vancouver, on November 15, Sir Charles sent the following letter to his constituents in Sydney, Cape Breton:

VANCOUVER, B.C.,
November 15, 1900.

TO MY POLITICAL FRIENDS IN THE COUNTY OF CAPE BRETON.

I was, as you are aware, obliged from the outset to inform you that my duties in other parts of the Dominion would necessarily prevent me giving any attention to my own election, and I have to thank you all the more sincerely for the efforts which you have put forth to secure my return as one of your representatives in the Parliament of our country.

Largely, as I am advised, by means of unfair voters' lists, many ignorant and partisan deputy returning officers, the illegal expenditure of public money during the campaign, not to mention many other unscrupulous acts on the part of the Government and its supporters, my colleague and I have been defeated. The result generally in Canada, however, has gone differently wherever, as a rule, there was no material proportion of the electorate to be affected by the racial cry which has temporarily triumphed.

The Prime Minister of Canada is a Frenchman; to this alone he owes the success of his party at the polls. The Conservatives have no quarrel with their French-Canadian fellow-countrymen as

such, but French-Canadian Conservatives share with us the regret that the principles of responsible government have been momentarily smothered by an appeal of a French leader to his compatriots as Frenchmen rather than as Canadians.

A triumph of this character is necessarily ephemeral. The Anglo-Saxon Liberals who have unwittingly lent themselves to this despicable cry I firmly believe will do much to retrieve the lost ground and, joining with Conservatives, both French and English, ultimately rescue our Federal politics from its present position.

Our party, though beaten by such means, is not yet defeated. The hour of victory has been but postponed. In the near future right will prevail.

Personally, my own defeat is to me not wholly unwelcome. have worked and lived to see the unification of Her Majesty's possessions on this continent; Her people self-reliant, prosperous, and imbued with love of country and of Queen; and now, having reached my 80th year, I may fairly claim exemption from duties which have seriously taxed my strength for the past four years.

Again thanking you for all you have done for me, and with best wishes.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Before the election Sir Charles had promised some of the Conservative candidates in British Columbia that he would assist them in their political campaign which would follow the general election. This promise must be kept. The day after bidding adieu to public life in Montreal he, Lady Tupper, and Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper left Montreal for Vancouver. At Winnipeg, as at other places, so gallant and grand had been his life and labours that he was received as a victor and hero.

On reaching Vancouver, Sir Charles spoke to a large body of people who met them at the station, and also to the Liberal-Conservatives in their rooms. On the 17th he addressed a large body of electors for an hour and a half. He addressed audiences on consecutive days at Rossland, Greenwood and Grand Forks, and dined with the St. Andrew's Society at Fhair's Hotel, Nelson. On the following day he addressed an audience in the hall at this place, and subsequently spoke in Vancouver and Victoria.

He had an interview with J. J. Hill, of St. Paul, Minnesota, and returned to Winnipeg, where he was entertained at a large banquet. On December 27 he spoke at a concert held in the drill-shed in honour of the volunteers returned from South Africa.

While at Vancouver, Sir Charles received a letter from the Right Hon. Sir James Lowther, and replied to a letter from Sir Howard Vincent:

To The Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., G.C.M.G., G.B.

The Council of the United Empire Trade League, hearing with infinite regret the determination of the Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Baronet, G.C.M.G., G.B., formerly Secretary of State and Premier of the Dominion of Canada, and many years High Commissioner in London, to withdraw from public life, desire to place upon record their profound sense of the priceless services rendered to the British Empire and the cause of Imperial Unity upon a commercial basis by their distinguished Vice-President.

The Council further declare that although the views Sir Charles Tupper strove so long and so earnestly to promulgate have been adopted by those who formerly opposed them, and treaties with foreign nations prohibiting Inter-British preferential trading have been for ever terminated, enabling a system of better treatment of British compared to foreign goods to be inaugurated by the far-seeing patriotism of Canada, the services of the Hon. Sir Charles Tupper in this direction will remain inscribed in the golden page of British History.

James Lowther, *Chairman.*
Col. Howard Vincent, M.P., *Hon. Secretary.*

Saint Stephen's Chambers, Westminster,
London, S.W.
November 19, 1900.

"Elmhurst," Winnipeg, Man.,
December 29, 1900.

My dear Sir Howard Vincent,—Your kind letter of November 21st reached me on my return here from British Columbia a few days ago, and I have now received a copy of the resolution passed by the United Empire Trade League on the 19th of November last in relation to my retirement from the position of leader of the Liberal-Conservative party.

I need not say how deeply I appreciate the kind sentiments of that resolution, and I hope that you and the Right Hon. Mr. Lowther will thank the League in my name and assure them that my confident conviction that the principles of the League embody the best means of securing the unity of the British Empire remains unabated, and that I will always be glad to co-operate with them in that great work to the best of my ability.

With best wishes for your success.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

COL. SIR HOWARD VINCENT, M.P.,
Secretary, The United Empire Trade League,
St. Stephen's Chambers,
Westminster, London, S.W.

In this review, the reader, like the writer, will be much at a loss to decide which most to admire, Charles Tupper's entrance into public life, his herculean labours performed in the forty-five years, or the nobility and grandeur of his leave-taking. "The good people of Sydney have released me," was the language of this hero of a hundred battles to a constituency that had rejected him and chosen in his place an untried and untrained man.

Dr. Tupper came into public life in a scene of dazzling and intoxicating success. But, as if a veteran, his judgment and discretion were not affected by it. His political life closes in a burst of moral grandeur not easily paralleled.

Sir Charles's retirement into private life was an event such as tries the faith and character of men who, like him, have been for a long time foremost in the service of their country. This change, though a great wrench to purpose, habit and ambition, in no way unsettled him. The fame which he had won in his political life during the forty-five years in which he had seen much of prosperity, adversity, success and failure was not eclipsed when his work was finished. The event, so crucial in its character, revealed no weakness, but rather brought into clearer light his great talents and personal excellences. It proved an occasion for his opponents, and even bitterest enemies, to

declare their conviction that his career had been a distinguished and successful one, and from that day until the close of his life they had nothing but good to say of him. That is what might have been expected. In the world's history it is the rule, when the war is over, for both friends and foes to unite in expressing admiration and praise of the generals who distinguished themselves in the conflict.

As soon as he stepped down into private life Sir Charles had the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing the victorious Liberal party, led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, abandon, in the face of the world, their principles and policy, and adopt those for which he fought and fell. Under the uplifting and nourishing influence of his own plans, carried into execution by his and their political opponents, he saw his country and his own fame grow greater and greater, until the terminology by which she had been designated had to be changed. Canada could not be spoken of as a Colony of Great Britain, but must be termed a nation associated with this grand old Empire.

On February 28, 1901, Sir Charles wrote to Mr. R. L. Borden respecting the leadership of the Conservative party, giving it as his opinion that Mr. Borden was eminently qualified for the place. On the motion of Sir Hibbert Tupper, in the Conservative caucus, Mr. Borden was unanimously elected leader of the Conservative party.

ROSE HOTEL, WIESBADEN,
February 28, 1901.

MY DEAR MR. BORDEN,—I am sure I need not say how much pleasure it gave me to hear that you had been unanimously elected leader of the Conservative party, and that I wish you the most abundant success in that position until you are called upon to lead the Government.

You fortunately possess all the qualifications required for the position you have been called upon to fill. With high personal character, great forensic ability, and an unrivalled professional standing in the House, where you have already secured the personal regard and confidence of all your colleagues without exciting the

jealousy of any, it will be strange indeed if with a glorious cause to maintain you do not succeed in leading your party at no distant day to the victory it so richly deserves.

With kindest regards and best wishes for your success.—Believe me, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

OTTAWA,
March 13, 1901.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—I cannot thank you too warmly for your very kind letter of congratulation which has just reached me; and I would be proud indeed if I could feel myself worthy of your more than generous words. It would be idle for me to think that I bring to the task any especial qualifications. Moreover, in succeeding a man of your acknowledged pre-eminence, unrivalled achievements, and vast experience in public affairs, my own position is rendered doubly difficult by contrast. However, one can but do his best and remember that in this he at least is doing his duty.

With kindest regards, dear Sir Charles.—I am, Yours faithfully,

R. L. BORDEN.

P.S.—Mrs. Borden joins me in kind remembrances to Lady Tupper and Miss Tupper.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G.

CHAPTER XVII

LIFE IN RETIREMENT (1901—1915)

THE large sphere in which Sir Charles had done his work on both sides of the Atlantic had made for him a correspondingly large number of friends in the social sphere. As is well known, men of moderate talents and limited influence drop out of the larger social circle when they retire to private life. But with Sir Charles it was not so. Although in his eightieth year, there seemed to be no change in his social relations. He continued to hold the same place as when Minister of the Crown in Canada and High Commissioner in England. After giving up his public labours, he did not at first settle down in a quiet home for the evening of life. It was, doubtless, his ideal to do so, but forces not wholly under his own control kept him in a larger sphere. Barring public duties and responsibilities, he found himself occupied almost as much as he had been when in public life. So numerous were the meetings and conferences that he attended—especially in connection with Tariff Reform and Imperial Federation—that it is only possible to refer here to a few of the most important.

At this time the family consisted of Sir Charles, Lady Tupper, and their granddaughter Marie Tupper, the eldest child of their son Stewart, for when Sir Charles entered on the sabbatic period of life, this grandchild became the inspiration, light and charm of the home.

Between 1900 and 1908, the latter being the date at which, because of Lady Tupper's health, he settled at Bexley Heath, in the south of England, his journal shows that he and his family crossed the Atlantic Ocean sixteen times, and the

record of engagements disclose the extent to which the family continued to enjoy the hospitality of their numerous friends.

On the first of the sixteen passages across the Atlantic Sir Charles was seen presiding at a concert on the steamer, and his granddaughter Marie playing a solo on the piano. At the close of the entertainment all united in singing "God Save the Queen." Had wireless telegraphy been in existence at the time, the concert would have closed with singing "God Save the King," for the Queen had been dead three days already. With the decease of the great and good Victoria all social functions in Great Britain, of course, ceased for a time. The whole Empire went into mourning. Among those who personally knew and appreciated the great worth of Queen Victoria was Canada's veteran statesman. His family looked upon the long, solemn funeral procession, as it moved along Park Lane, from the house of Sir E. Sassoon, M.P.

On returning to Canada in 1901, Sir Charles heard that there had been a large advance in Northern Pacific stock. He and his granddaughter, Miss Marie Tupper, who owned stock in this road, went to New York and sold their stock at 152½, for which, had they been two days earlier, they could have got 800. By missing this chance they failed to make $200,000. Sir Charles then purchased Canadian Pacific Railway stock at 100½. A newspaper made the following comments:

"Sir Charles Tupper is in a position to tell a hard-luck stock market story that only a few men can match.

"A few years ago Sir Charles picked up 250 shares of Northern Pacific stock as an investment, and had it nicely put away in a strong box.

"He left for Europe in the early part of 1901, and the day that Sir Charles sailed for home, May 5th, there began to be doings in Northern Pacific.

"The stock introduced its well-remembered gymnastics, and moved very gracefully from 125 to about 400.

"On May 9th it sold at $1,000.

"Wall Street was off its head with excitement.

"Brokers ran special trains from all over the country bringing N.P. stock to Wall Street, and shorts made frantic efforts to find every available share.

"Knowing he had Northern Pacific put away, Sir Charles's friends tried to get it out and sell it for him at the fancy figures.

"Telegrams to his relations and friends revealed the sad fact, however, that no one had power of attorney.

"Sir Charles was in mid-ocean, and with Wall Street on its knees willing to pay $900 to $1,000 a share, the ex-Premier's holdings remained untouched.

"The next day the 'corner' was broken, and Northern Pacific tobogganed from $1,000 to $150.

"Sir Charles landed at the wharf to learn that his failure to appoint an attorney in his absence had cost him over $200,000.

"Sir Charles did not seem to lose any sleep over the matter, and he told the story afterwards with much gusto."

Another element in the life of Sir Charles after his retirement was the demand made upon him for public service, an experience uncommon among men who, having served the public until old age, exchange their burden for the repose of private life.

He worked on the Executive Committee of the British Empire League at the House of Commons, and had the honour of lunching on June 25, 1902, with the United Empire Trade League. The announcement at the table of the King's illness caused great consternation. Sir Charles was present at the Nova Scotia dinner at the Hotel Cecil, General Laurie presiding. On the occasion of dining on Dominion Day at the same hotel, where both Sir Charles and Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke, the Bishop of London, who was present and left at the same time with Sir Charles to attend another function, said: "Sir Charles, I wish to introduce myself to you, and to say that I have never heard a speech at a public dinner which gave me so much pleasure." Sir Charles had spoken on the achievements of the great Colonies during the Victorian era. The Hon.

Mr. Seddon, Premier of Victoria, said of this speech to Sir Charles's son Stewart, who was present, that it was easily first among those delivered on that occasion.

In March, 1903, a most interesting and noteworthy occurrence is referred to in Sir Charles's journal. A frank conversation took place between him and Mr. J. S. Willison, editor of the Toronto *News*. For a number of years Mr. Willison had been editor of the *Globe*, and was one of Sir Charles's most severe critics. This conversation led to the following correspondence:

PARKSIDE, VANCOUVER, B.C.,
May 23, 1903.

J. S. TUPPER, Esq., K.C., *Winnipeg.*

MY DEAR SON,—You will no doubt remember reading in the *News*, February 16th, 1903, the following passage:—

"This is particularly true of a party which enjoyed for so many years the great personal ascendancy of Sir John Macdonald, and the bold, constructive genius of Sir Charles Tupper. It is for the moment the fashion to depreciate the aged Nova Scotian, but history will give him a great place in the story of confederated Canada. With all his faults he was essentially a policy-maker and a constructive statesman. His work was done when the country needed builders, and it was done boldly and courageously. The party which he helped to create will never be content with the mere business of attack and criticism, and whatever legitimate pride it may have in its past, it must look for a future in keeping with its traditions."

When in Toronto in March last I met Mr. Willison, the managing director and editor of that paper, at the house of Mr. McMurrich, a leading Liberal and one of the directors of the *Globe* newspaper. I took the opportunity of thanking Mr. Willison for the terms in which he had referred to me in the *News* as above, but told him at the same time I would feel greatly obliged if he would candidly tell me what he referred to as the great faults in my career. He said, "I do not think I said 'great faults,' and I may say to you that I have long since come to the conclusion that there was no ground for charging you with ever having enriched yourself at the public expense." After some little pressure he said, "Well, I will comply with your request and write to you shortly."

A short time ago I received a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, and send you a copy of my reply. I think you will find them

interesting, considering that Mr. Willison was for many years the editor of the Toronto *Globe*, my severest and most formidable critic. —Your affectionate father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The News, TORONTO, CANADA,
April 28, 1903.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—When you were in town a few weeks ago I gave a promise, more or less definite, that I would indicate what in my judgment were the faults in your public career. I have, however, been forced to conclude that I cannot do so, except in a very general way. I have indicated what I think are the strong points in your career; upon that side I would prefer to dwell; with the other side, upon reflection, I am sure I should not deal. I should say that under the governments of which you were a member public money was very freely used as bribes to localities in need of railways and public works; that there was much expenditure for bribery in the constituencies, and much of the money used came from contractors and manufacturers and other beneficiaries of the government. The redistribution of 1882 and the Franchise Act of 1885 were very bad measures, and you gave your powerful support to the party which mooted them. Generally I would charge against your party, as represented by the governments in which you sat, that it carried on a strong constructive Canadian policy by bad political methods and gross corruption in the constituencies, and that the net result was to build up Canada and greatly lower the public morals. Hence in brief I rejoice in the great achievements of the Conservative party and deplore its political methods, and for these methods I would hold you to a considerable responsibility. All this I say in fulfilment of a rather foolish promise, and not with the least desire to attack your career at any point. In many respects it commanded my earnest admiration, and I rejoice that it has been so greatly prolonged.—Yours very truly,

J. S. WILLISON.

SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.

PARKSIDE, VANCOUVER,
May 21, 1903.

DEAR MR. WILLISON,—I am greatly obliged by your letter of April 28th, and hope to be able to convince you that I am not so open to the charge of promoting important political measures by corrupt means as you suppose. When we were forced to resign in 1873 I stated on the floor of the House that during the election of 1872 I did not know that Sir Hugh Allan had contributed a dollar,

or that there was any election fund in existence. True, I did not desert Sir John Macdonald, who refused to give Sir Hugh a charter for the C. P. R., and alleged that all he had received had been distributed to meet legitimate expenses. Had I done so, where was I to go when Geo. Brown had written to the president of a bank to " make a big push and come down handsomely," and Sir R. Cartwright, Finance Minister of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, put a loan on the market and gave a large amount to that banker without interest ? I spent much of my time during the period we were in Opposition in supporting our candidates at the bye-elections all over Canada, not only at my own expense, but actually paid for 100 copies of McPherson's pamphlet to distribute in Digby when I went there to assist in defeating Mr. Vail, the Minister of Militia. I was then living in Toronto, and had to contribute $500 to establish the *Mail*. For the general election of 1878 we were only able to raise in Toronto some $3,000. I went to Nova Scotia without any aid. We were returned to power, when I was made Minister of Public Works. I brought in a bill, which became law, dividing that department into two, and was appointed Minister of Railways and Canals. One of my colleagues told me I ought to have a large subscription from the contractors for a political fund. My answer was, " If contractors are to be called upon in that way I will not remain a Minister. From the hour I entered the department until I leave it I will do nothing that I would not do if Mr. Mackenzie were looking over my shoulder." That colleague is still living, and I may say that neither he nor any other ever made a similar suggestion.

In 1880, after I had let over $10,000,000 in contracts, and the Toronto *Globe* ventured to charge or broadly insinuate corruption in connection with them, I went to Sir John A. Macdonald and requested him to appoint a commission with an expert lawyer, an engineer of high standing, and an able accountant to examine into every contract. I submitted a report to Council authorising that commission, with power to call before it every person, Minister, engineer, and all other officials, contractors, and every person able to give any information. I was examined, and requested the commission to call upon the manager of the *Globe* to furnish the names of any witnesses who could throw any light upon the subject. They did so, and were told that the *Globe* had heard rumours, but could not name any witnesses. That commission reported all the evidence in two octavo volumes, which, with their report, was laid on the table of the House and is now in the Parliamentary Library. I offer that as a strong vindication against any suggestion that I had so

far forgotten myself as to obtain means of corruption from contractors. I can say the same with regard to any railway subsidy ever submitted to Parliament by me. The policy of aiding railway companies by the Government was, in my judgment, a wise one, commenced by Mr. Mackenzie and continued until the present time. Undoubtedly it may be abused, as in the case of the Drummond County Railway.

In regard to the Redistribution Act of 1882, no one has suggested that anything unfair was done in Nova Scotia, and I confess that in the discussion in regard to Ontario I thought the comparison with Mr. Mowat's Redistribution Act was in favour of Sir John's. You will, no doubt, remember that I was not in Parliament in 1885.

To return to the subject of bribery at elections, I may inform you that a year before the last general election I obtained *carte blanche* from the party in Ontario to organise that Province. I raised a subscription from the members, and Mr. Barker, without any charge, gave me his assistance in supervising the work of Messrs. Leavitt and Wright, whom I had appointed organisers. I requested our friends in Toronto to subscribe a small fund to assist candidates who were not able to pay the legitimate expenses. Just before the election I invited the committee and leading members of the party to meet me at the Albany Club, when it was unanimously agreed that not one dollar should be expended during the election, so far as we were able to prevent it, in any way that could not be disclosed in a court of law. Our funds were small, and only admitted of assistance to those who could not meet their own expenses to the extent of $1,000, and in most cases of $500. I mention these details to disabuse your mind of the impression that my methods were calculated to lower the tone of public morality. I may also remind you in this connection of the manner in which I was able to set Mr. Birmingham at defiance when he threatened disclosure of Conservative corruption.

Again thanking you for the opportunity you have given me of making these explanations.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

C. Tupper.

J. S. Willison, Esq., Managing Director, *The News*, Toronto.

On July 1, 1903, he unveiled N. F. Davin's monument at Ottawa. He relates a strange experience he had

on that occasion: "I dreamed the night before that when I unveiled Mr. Davin's statue he was a black man, and put out his hand to shake hands with me, and that I fell down in a fit. When I unveiled it, expecting to find it white marble, I found it was bronze, which so disconcerted me that I could not remember what Sir Bulwer Lytton said of Macaulay in his description of members of the House of Commons, which I intended to quote."

Sir Charles kept in close touch with all Canadian matters, and in December of 1903 wrote a letter, which appeared in the Toronto *News,* the *Mail and Empire,* the Montreal *Star,* and the Halifax *Herald,* on the power of the Dominion to make treaties. It was written in response to a statement made in the Dominion Parliament by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in a discussion on the Alaskan Boundary Award, in which he deplored that "we have not in our own hands the treaty-making power which would enable us to dispose of our own affairs." Sir Charles, with all his aforetime keenness, saw in this speech an issue which involved "nothing less than the severance of Canada from Great Britain," and with trenchant force proceeded to show how the right to make *commercial* treaties had been gained, and finished up by saying: "I do not believe that the fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has failed so lamentably in all his diplomatic efforts will be considered a sufficient reason by the people of Canada for practically assuming a position of absolute independence by rejecting the authority of the Crown in all treaties, and divesting ourselves of any claim to the support of Great Britain."

On the eve of the Dominion election of 1904 Sir Charles was moved to write to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in the interests of Mutual Preferential Tariff between the Mother Country and the overseas Colonies, a policy which during many years he had lost no opportunity of advocating. The letter elicited the following reply:

Life in Retirement

HIGHBURY, BIRMINGHAM,
December 12, 1903.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—Many thanks for your letter of November 27, and for your kindness in consulting me in reference to your proposed communication to the *Times*. On the whole, I think that it would be better to withhold it in its present form, although possibly you might think well to express the idea rather differently.

What I fear is that it would give rise to party recrimination in Canada, and we might have a Liberal statesman writing in a hostile spirit in reply.

On the other hand, it would immensely strengthen my hands to have a simple statement from you expressing your belief that if the policy of reciprocal preference is not accepted, the inevitable tendency will be that the Dominion will drift insensibly into arrangements with the United States which will make a preferential arrangement with Great Britain impossible in the future, and will, therefore, be likely to weaken the ties between the Dominion and the Mother Country.

I am very sorry to see a report, which I hope is not entirely accurate, of Sir Richard Cartwright's speech at Toronto. It certainly appears to be an ungracious reply to the efforts which I am sacrificing so much to make in the belief that they would be cordially appreciated by Canada.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

WINNIPEG,
January 12, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN,—I was glad to receive your letter of the 12th ult., and do not doubt that you exercised a wise discretion in withholding my letter to the *Times*. I hope the letter I am sending of this date will meet the case. If you wish, you can delete the sentence referring to Mr. Blake. Cartwright is undoubtedly pro-American, and Charlton's action, I fear, indicates Laurier's real wishes, but they dare not assume that attitude openly.

I am much pleased to see that you have locked horns with the Duke of Devonshire, who will, by his erratic course, lose the undeserved influence he has held in the past. I intend to bring that to the notice of the British Empire League when I visit London this coming spring, unless you think it would be injudicious. In 1897, at Liverpool, he pointed out the failure of Free Trade, and said England must look to her Colonies. At the annual meeting of the

League he, ex cathedra, as Chairman of the Defence Committee, declared the English Navy would defend the Colonies, but asked local co-operation, especially in land defences. In 1902, in his annual address to the League, he made a rabid Free Trade speech and demanded a contribution to the Navy from the Colonies, or they must provide for their own defence. In 1903 he endeavoured to kill preferential trade by saying in his annual address that it would involve the surrender of self-government.

I see a great deal of apprehension is being excited by the statement that the American citizens attracted to Canada by the British preference will promote the annexation of Canada to the United States. This involves the palpable absurdity that they will endeavour to destroy the advantage which induced them to leave their own country and settle in Canada.

I need not add that anything I can do to aid you in the slightest degree in your great patriotic and self-sacrificing efforts will always give much pleasure to—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

[Enclosure in foregoing letter.]

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA,
January 12, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN,—As the preservation of British institutions has been regarded by me as paramount to every other question from the time I entered public life in Nova Scotia in 1855, you may well understand the delight with which I have followed your successful advocacy of what I regard as the only policy by which the Colonies may be indissolubly bound to the Empire. The policy of Mutual Preferential Trade between the Mother Country and the great outlying portions of the Empire has, as you have recently been informed by Mr. Fielding, the Finance Minister of Canada, the support of both parties here; but I confess I am not without apprehension as to our future, should your proposals on this vital issue not be accepted by the Imperial Parliament.

I enclose a letter published by Mr. John Charlton, one of the ablest members of the House of Commons, in which he advocates a reciprocity arrangement with the United States as preferable to your proposals. Fallacious as are many of his arguments, you will at once see how attractive they would become if Great Britain should fail to embrace the present opportunity to secure the unity of the Empire.

You have no doubt seen the use that is being made of your speeches in the Senate of the United States to ensure co-operation with Mr.

Charlton's views, and I may remind you that the Hon. Edward Blake refused to support the Liberal party in 1891 on the ground that their policy was calculated to secure commercial supremacy to our Republican neighbours. You are undoubtedly right in supposing that we are approaching the parting of the ways, and that the gravest issues may result from any failure to now secure the consolidation of the Empire.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HIGHBURY, BIRMINGHAM.

January 25, 1904.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER,—Many thanks for your letter and its enclosures. The situation is very difficult, and those who hope, as you and I do, that a solution may be found along the lines of preferential trade, must do all in our power to press it forward. Up to the present moment my opponents here declare, with emphatic iteration, that the Colonies do not wish for such an arrangement, or, if they do, could only accept one in which the sacrifice would be all on one side.

Personally, I doubt if there would be any sacrifice at all, for I think a change would be to our mutual advantage ; but, in any case, if the Empire is to be kept together, both sides must be willing to consider the possibility of sacrifice if it is worth maintaining.

Trusting you keep well, and with kind regards.—Believe me, Yours very truly,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

In Sir Charles's journal, written while at Rome in the spring of 1905, a pleasing domestic picture is found. The grandfather, then eighty-four years old, and the granddaughter Sophie engaged a teacher to give them lessons in Italian. That certainly was a unique class in modern languages. The remarkable aptitude for languages inherited from his father enabled Sir Charles to make rare progress in acquiring Italian. After a few weeks he was able to read the newspapers, and he stated in conversation with a friend, a short time after this stay at Rome, that he "even dreamed in Italian." Bishop Cameron, who was staying in Rome, requested Sir Charles to accompany him to the Vatican, where he was to have an audience with the Pope. The bishop presented Sir Charles to His Holiness

as a statesman who had rendered great service to the Roman Catholics in the Dominion of Canada. The presentation was made in Latin. The Pope blessed Sir Charles with much warmth in Italian, and may have been surprised to hear the Canadian statesman reply in the same tongue: "*Io apprezzo altamente il grande onore di essere presentato a vostra santita.*"

At the close of 1905 and the beginning of 1906 Sir Charles had some correspondence with the Governor-General and Mr. Chamberlain on Preferential Trade, a matter vitally important to Canada and the Empire:

PARKSIDE, VANCOUVER, B.C.,
January 2, 1906.

DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN,—As one who has from the first hour of his public life in 1855 attached supreme importance to the maintenance of the connection between Great Britain and her Colonies, I must tell you with what pleasure I have read the cable summary of your manifesto on the present most important political struggle, whether regarded from the Imperial or Colonial standpoint.

The enormous bread-producing power Canada has developed since you announced your fixed policy in 1904 fully warrants your confident declaration that it will not increase the cost of bread in the slightest degree.

Earl Grey, during his recent visit to Manitoba and the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, said in his speech at the Manitoba Club, "You have this year produced from eighty to one hundred million bushels of wheat, and it would be a bold man who would venture to say that you have not nine millions of acres of equally good land remaining for every acre you have now under wheat."

All parties in Canada are in favour of Mutual Preferential Trade between the Mother Country and ourselves, not because it would increase the price of the wheat we raise, but because a preference of even two shillings a quarter on wheat would induce millions of immigrants to settle north of the boundary line and rapidly build up a great British community on this continent. I frankly confess I share your anxiety as to the result of delay in strengthening the bonds that unite us to the Empire.

You must not forget that the policy of Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States, which involved our adoption of the Tariff

of the Republic against England, was only defeated in 1891 by a small majority, and that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Hon. Mr. Fielding, his Finance Minister, while offering at the Conference of 1902 to increase the present preference in favour of the United Kingdom if exempted from the duty then existing on bread stuffs, frankly told you that if no preference was given to Canada they would feel at liberty to repeal the preference they had enacted.

Nor must you lose sight of the significant sentence in President Roosevelt's recent Message to Congress respecting reciprocal trade relations.

Feeling as I do the vital interests at stake in the momentous contest in which you are engaged, I need not say that you are at liberty to make any use you please of this letter, and hoping for the triumph of the policy to which you have so fearlessly committed yourself.—I am, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

The further advanced in years he became, the more carefully Sir Charles scrutinised every event connected with the international relations of Canada.

Sir Charles received from his friends in England, of both political parties, a token of their appreciation of his life's labours, and the esteem in which they held him, in the form of an oil-painting of himself.

The following telegram from his native Province and his native county, and his reply to it, indicate the mutual relations between Sir Charles and the people of that county, irrespective of parties:

SIR CHARLES TUPPER,
Broomwood, Bexley Heath.

AMHERST,
August 2, 1907.

Cumberland friends, irrespective of parties, tender reception. Cable suitable date. Board of Trade.

BOARD OF TRADE,
Amherst, N.S.

Regret exceedingly wife's illness prevents complying kind invitation. Expect to arrive in Quebec, September 13th.

CHARLES TUPPER.

Fifty-two years had passed since the county first sent Dr. Tupper as its representative to the Legislature of Nova

Scotia. During that time he had won many a victory, but the one here conceded of the union of both political parties to do him honour must have given him a peculiar pleasure and satisfaction never before enjoyed. He had outlived all partisan prejudice. Liberals and Conservatives had united as one in letting the grand old citizen of their county know that they not only appreciated his distinguished talents, but that he had a place in their hearts, and they were anxious to express their feelings by giving him a suitable festive reception.

On the voyage to Canada Sir Charles dined, by invitation, with the Lord Chancellor and Mr. O'Connor, M.P., and at a concert proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Chancellor, who presided. After his return to Canada he refers in his journal, on November 4, 1907, to the death of his lifelong friend the Hon. Daniel McNeil Parker, M.D., of Halifax: "My dear friend of seventy years passed away. We met at Horton Academy in 1837, and were the closest friends in Edinburgh and Halifax, without even a passing cloud ever coming between us."

To a telegram received from Earl Grey on November 8, 1907, stating that the King had made Sir Charles a Privy Councillor, Sir Charles replied as follows:

RAVENSCOURT, WINNIPEG,
November 16, 1907.

MY DEAR LORD GREY,—The great honour which His Majesty has conferred upon me has been much enhanced by the fact that it was due to Your Excellency's recommendation, with the full approval of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The marked kindness which I have invariably received from Your Lordship, and your gracious letter of the 11th instant, have touched me more deeply than I can find words to express, and will never be forgotten by—Yours gratefully and faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

When on October 19, 1908, for the purpose of taking the oath as Privy Councillor, he drove to Buckingham Palace, Earl Crewe introduced himself and said: "You

have forgotten me since you showed me through the Canadian section of the Exhibition of the Colonies and India in 1886."

On December 11, 1907, Sir Charles and Lady Tupper arrived at Vancouver, and on the 13th he gave an interview to the *Daily Advertiser*. Here his views and grasp of Canadian and Imperial political affairs seems as clear and strong as in middle life. His statements in this interview are both graphic and vigorous, and show that the alertness and strength which had ever characterised his public labours had in no way decreased, although he was far advanced in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

On August 7, 1909, a letter was published in the London *Times* from its Toronto correspondent, who undertook to point out defects in the Canadian Constitution, and on August 13 there appeared a long letter from Sir Charles criticising the contentions of this correspondent and setting him right on certain matters.

Sir Charles also wrote an open letter to Mr. R. L. Borden, leader of the Opposition in Canada, on Canada's naval policy, which was published in the *Times* and other papers.

Sir Charles had tilts with the Montreal *Star* and Winnipeg *Telegram* on the same subject—the comparative merits of the two policies, the giving of Dreadnoughts to the British Government by Canada, or the building of a navy.

On December 8, 1909, Sir Charles received a letter from George Robertson respecting the memorial to Sir Leonard Tilley to be erected in St. John, to which he replied:

"The Mount," Bexley Heath,
December 8, 1909.

My dear Sir,—I had the pleasure of receiving this morning your letter of November 29th, conveying the gratifying intelligence that the Dominion Government has granted $4,000, and the Provincial Government $2,500, toward a statue to commemorate Sir Leonard Tilley, and that the committee have secured the services of that eminent Canadian sculptor, M. Philippe Hebert, to execute it.

Sir Leonard Tilley was, in my opinion, one of the best public men I have ever known, and richly deserves to have his memory preserved, not only by the Province in which he was born, but by the Dominion of Canada, who so long enjoyed the benefit of his able services.

I need not say how glad I am to contribute my mite ($100.00) to perpetuate the memory of one whose friendship I enjoyed from the hour we first met down to the sad hour of his lamented death.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

GEORGE ROBERTSON, ESQ.

On June 17, 1910, an event of importance in Canadian history took place in London, in which Sir Charles took part. The following account is from the Montreal *Star:*

"Memorable history was made for Canada this afternoon in the heart of the metropolis. Nowhere but in London at such a time as the Coronation could be seen such a gathering as has just assembled at that most historic of all Canadian places in London, the Westminster Palace Hotel, for the unveiling of the commemorative tablet in the very room where, forty-four years ago, Confederation was born.

"Bitter political feuds, many of them of long standing, were submerged in one common acclaim of patriotic pride. Sir Wilfrid Laurier sat beside Sir Charles Tupper, the sole surviving father of Confederation, with only Thomas Skinner, one of the English makers of modern Canada, between them; and the two veterans paid each other cordial compliments. Lord Strathcona was on the other side of the chairman.

"The Canadian Premiers present besides Sir Wilfrid Laurier were Sir J. P. Whitney, of Ontario; Premier Hazen, of New Brunswick; Premier Scott, of Saskatchewan; and Premier A. Sifton, of Alberta.

"When the chairman, Sir Henry Kimber, Bart., M.P., referred to Sir Charles Tupper, the cheers were loud and long continued.

"Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech evoked general enthusiasm. He paid warm tributes to Joseph Howe and George Brown, who as agitators brought about the crisis out of which Confederation sprang; Sir John Macdonald, whose wonderful aptitude for statesmanship overcame difficulties surrounding Canada's cradle; Sir George Cartier, and Tilley. He added:—

"'But I am here to speak my mind, and I believe I speak my mind and speak fair judgment of my countrymen when I say that next to Macdonald the man who did most to bring Canada into Confederation is the veteran statesman on my left, Sir Charles Tupper. (Loud cheers.) Reviewing the events of those days, everybody must admit there was no man who gave more of his heart and soul to the task than the gentleman who was then Doctor Tupper.

"'After forty years we can say that the work done in this room was well done. During twenty years after the American Confederation, the American Confederation had to survive twelve amendments. During the forty-four years since Canada's Confederation there has been only one amendment of an important character, and that came without friction, and to the satisfaction of everybody. (Cheers.) Standing in this Canadian "*Vue de pilgrimage*," I say to Sir Charles Tupper in your name and mine, "Well done, good and faithful servant."' (Loud cheers.)"

On May 1, 1911, the Toronto *News* published an open letter to Mr. Fielding, the virility of which can here be judged:

"The Mount," Bexley Heath,
To The Honourable W. S. Fielding. *April*, 1911.

Sir,—Now nearly ninety years of age, I had hoped that I was done with political controversy, but as you found it easier to misrepresent and disparage a man three thousand miles away than to reply to the unanswerable speech of Mr. Sifton—your former colleague—I am compelled to notice some of your remarks at Montreal on March 27th.

I cannot accuse you of want of courage in challenging the statement that you had "advanced or advocated annexation to the United States, and that that statement was without the shadow or the ghost of a shadow of foundation in truth."

When I was fighting the battle for Confederation you were in the employ of Mr. William Annand, on the Halifax *Morning Chronicle*, denouncing Canada and holding it up to public execration.

In 1868, when Joseph Howe, after exhausting in vain every means to defeat Confederation, decided to abandon hostility and make the best of it, Mr. Annand proposed to apply to the United States. Mr. Howe rejected his proposal with scorn, but you remained with Mr. Annand and supported those who hounded Howe to his death, and drove him into an untimely grave.

You say that you represent Nova Scotia, but you forget that in the election of 1872 the opponents of Confederation were unable to elect a single member to oppose the Government of which Mr. Howe and I were members, and that when in 1886 you carried the Province in a desperate attempt to break up the Union, I went out to Canada the following year and cured you of your folly by obtaining the support of sixteen out of twenty-one members for the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald. So much for your loyalty.

You say: "Sir Charles Tupper in 1888 went to Washington to seek reciprocity. I find at that time so anxious was Sir Charles Tupper for reciprocity that he offered to give the Americans, in addition to their ordinary exchanges of trade, free access to the fishing privileges of Canada. We get an arrangement which gives everything that Sir Charles Tupper wanted, but we have not given the fisheries of the Dominion of Canada. We have maintained the rights of the people of Canada as owners of the fishing grounds, and the Americans must have a licence when they come in, and not have free rights to fish in the waters of Canada."

These are the depreciatory terms in which you refer to the great services rendered to Canada by Mr. Chamberlain and myself as Plenipotentiaries of Her Majesty in 1887–8.

At that time it is well known that the Press of the United States, both Republican and Democratic, were denouncing Canada for the alleged brutal treatment of American fishermen in Canadian waters, and, as they said, in violation of the Treaty of 1818.

We obtained a treaty which was sent to the Senate by President Cleveland with the declaration that it was a fair and just settlement, and he urged its adoption.

That treaty provided that when American fishermen were allowed to purchase fishing supplies, and enjoy transhipment of catch and shipment of crews in Canadian ports, Canadians should be allowed to sell their cargoes of fish in the United States free of any duty.

It also settled the contention as to bays on the terms contended for by Canada. It was accompanied by a *modus vivendi* providing for a licence to American vessels pending the adoption of the treaty, to enjoy these commercial privileges upon payment of $1.50 per ton, and *neither under the treaty nor the* modus vivendi *could a fish be caught in Canadian waters by Americans,* as Mr. Chamberlain and I refused the urgent appeals for that privilege by the American Plenipotentiaries.

The treaty was carried in the Canadian Parliament by a unani-

mous vote, and the *modus vivendi* has been continuously re-enacted down to the present day. President Cleveland was not re-elected; but Mr. Harrison, who defeated him, said in his inaugural address that under the *modus vivendi* given by Canada all irritation had been removed between the two countries.

If you wish to learn the value of the treaty of 1888 read the handsome reference to it by your colleague, Sir Allen Aylesworth, in the House of Commons, where he stated that our settlement of the bays question had been adopted and made permanent by The Hague arbitration.

You say that Sir J. A. Macdonald was in favour of reciprocity in 1891, but you do not explain that he was fighting a desperate battle to prevent Laurier and Cartwright, who were co-operating with Wiman and Farrer—avowed Annexationists—from carrying unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, which involved Canada taking the tariff made at Washington with its discrimination against Great Britain.

Have you forgotten that the Hon. Edward Blake left his party on the ground that that policy would end in annexation to the United States, which at that important crisis you supported? The policy for which Laurier and Cartwright and Wiman and Farrer were struggling.

It is true that in that struggle, which cost Sir John A. Macdonald his life, in maintaining British institutions for Canada, we succeeded. But before that election Mr. Laurier made the following solemn declaration :—

"I have read the history of unrestricted reciprocity in this way —that every reform has cost to the reformer years of labour, and those years of labour I, for one, am ready to give, and though the Democrats may be defeated in the States, and the Canadians may grow faint-hearted in Canada, the Liberal party, *as long as I have anything to do with it, will remain true to the cause until that cause is successful.* I will not expect to win in a day, but I am prepared to remain in the cool shade of Opposition until the cause has triumphed, and you shall never hear a complaint from me. *I tell you the Liberal party will never cease from the agitation until they triumph and obtain* CONTINENTAL FREE TRADE. We are asked, sometimes, gentlemen, what is the programme of the Liberal party. This is the programme of the Liberal party: to obtain a *continental freedom of trade.* Success will certainly crown our efforts at no distant day. Fixing our eyes steadily on the goal we shall go on steadily until we reach it—*unrestricted continental reciprocity.*"

This declaration was made at the Young Men's Liberal Club, Toronto, September, 1889.

I regret that I must now charge you with a wilful mis-statement. You said: "If we continued the national policy, what did the Conservative leader at that time mean by saying: 'The result is this tariff (that is, the Laurier Government's tariff) goes into operation, when the hon. gentleman knows that the interests of the country are paralysed in consequence.'"

Now, sir, *you know that statement was untrue.* What are the facts? You brought down a tariff I declared unconstitutional and illegal. I told you that the Governor-General would be obliged to reserve his assent and that you had no power to give a preference to England, *as she was bound by treaties to prevent its acceptance, and that your proposal in that regard was delusive.* Your answer was that it was already done. I replied that you were only making yourself ridiculous, and would have to refund the duties paid by any other countries in excess of those paid by England. I quoted the Montreal *Gazette* to show you the disaster already caused. What was the result? *That tariff never went into operation.*

My remarks were made on the 26th April. On the 25th day of May you moved the House into Committee of Ways and Means, saying: "Mr. Speaker, I desire to place on the table of the House, when I conclude, the *amended tariff resolutions. I may say we are proposing a number of changes in these resolutions.* . . . We have desired to meet the views of manufacturers who complained that they were severely affected by our tariff resolutions." You made this notable announcement: "We provide by sub-section B of section 16 as follows: "*That the Governor-in-Council may extend the benefits of such reciprocal tariff to any country which may be entitled thereto by virtue of any treaty with Her Majesty.*"

Sir, after making *changes on more than fifty articles in the tariff,* after what I said on April 26th, do you think you were justified in interpolating in my remarks the words ("that is the Laurier Government tariff") which had been so fundamentally CHANGED *a month after I had spoken?*

You know that the Hon. Minister of Customs had, in consequence of your ignorance or folly, to spend a great deal of time in refunding the duties paid in excess of those on British goods, and that Mr. Chamberlain told you I was right and you were wrong, and that at the Sheffield banquet you were obliged to confess that Great Britain had no preference in Canada. *You were therefore* OBLIGED *to grant a preference to Great Britain, but have seized every opportunity since*

to destroy it, as will be seen by the following extract from the speech of Lord Selborne, as reported in the *Times* of April 8th, 1911 :—

" He then went on to remind the audience of the reciprocity movements with Canada, recalling the fact that the members of the 1907 conference (with the exception of His Majesty's Government) re-affirmed the resolutions in favour of mutual preferential trade in the Empire. Then followed separate treaties with France, Holland, Belgium, and Italy, and a provisional arrangement with Germany, the result of which had seriously whittled away the preference we enjoyed.

" The effect of the agreement with the United States upon the trade of the United Kingdom was the entire removal of the preference on British goods, of which Canada imported nearly £700,000 worth in 1909–10. Thirdly, there was the extension to the ' most-favoured nation ' of the reduced Canadian rates on United States products, thereby whittling still further the advantages of our preference.

" Finally, there was the preference which Canadian products would enjoy over United Kingdom products in the United States markets. Imports of this class from the United Kingdom amounted in 1908–9 to nearly £3,000,000. This was the first time that any part of the British Empire would enjoy preferential treatment in a foreign country to the rest of the Empire, and it *was impossible to regard this precedent with satisfaction.*"

After deriding mutual preferential trade between Great Britain and her Colonies in the most contemptuous terms, you were begging for it at the conference, and threatening that Canada might withdraw her preference if not granted, and you now make an arrangement with the United States which *practically destroys it.*

I am opposed to your agreement with the United States, because Mr. Bayard in 1888 assured Mr. Chamberlain and me that the policy of the Democratic party was to remove, as soon as they were able, the duties on *all the articles in your agreement,* and President Taft now sees that he can only secure his re-election by the same policy.

We owe nothing to the Republican party, and *would gain everything without any entangling alliance,* which will, I fear, *end in the destruction of British institutions in Canada.*

You ventured to claim the prosperity of Canada as due to the Laurier Government. You cannot deny that, *without Confederation and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Canada could not have attained the great position that she has.*

Sir Wilfrid Laurier had no lot or part in the Confederation of 1867. The Rouge party to which he belonged in Quebec opposed it bitterly, and *you did all in your power to prevent the union of the Provinces.* When Sir John A. Macdonald completed the task of uniting all the Provinces of British North America from the Pacific to the Atlantic ocean, on the only terms by which British Columbia could be induced to join—giving them railway communication—a hue and cry was raised that he had ruined the country, which reduced his majority and enabled the Liberal party to obtain power by *purchasing six of his supporters by giving them seats in the cabinet and others governorships and contracts.*

You gave all your support to that Government, which appealed to the country before the facts could be placed before it, and obtained a large majority, only to be hurled from office *at the first opportunity* by an immense majority, which demanded the recall of Sir John A. Macdonald.

When we proceeded with the vigorous prosecution of the Canadian Pacific Railway, you supported Mr. Blake's motion in 1880 to compel us to suspend operations on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, and Mr. Laurier and all your party joined in his appeal " not to ruin all Canada for the sake of 12,000 white people in British Columbia."

When the contract was made with the C.P.R. company you all declared that it could not be carried out, and did your best to accomplish that object. Laurier and you for eighteen years *fiercely denounced the protective policy which gave new life to Canada* and enabled us to secure the construction of the C.P. Railway in 1886, *five years before the contract required, which has been the means of opening up the great granary of the British Empire and bringing a vast population and much capital into Canada.*

Mr. Laurier, now Sir Wilfrid, pledged to tear up protection and trample on its head and body, succeeded in obtaining power by a Janus-faced policy on a question of race and religion, but not until he had secretly assured the manufacturers that they would be safe in his hands, and then called you to his aid as Finance Minister, and you, *having failed in your first effort which I denounced,* succeeded, I am happy to say, in producing a tariff which Mr. Foster, the ex-Minister of Finance, after a careful investigation, showed that the duties levied by your tariff differed by less than one cent from his own. I fail to find much cause for jubilation in the career of your leader, or yourself, *marked as they have been by the violation of every principle previously propounded.*

CHARLES TUPPER.

Life in Retirement

"The Mount," Bexley Heath,

To The Hon. W. S. Fielding. *June* 12, 1911.

Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 25th. As you do not attempt to controvert the main portions of my letter, yours will require but little notice at my hands.

I charged you with a wilful mis-statement in interpolating in the quotation of my reference to the tariff you brought down, the words —"that is the Laurier Government tariff"—when you knew that owing to the injury which I proved it was inflicting, you, a month afterwards, submitted another, saying:—

"I may say we are proposing a number of changes. . . . We have desired to meet the views of manufacturers who complained they were severely affected by our resolutions."

Why, when face to face with me for three years after I had used the words you quoted, when taunted continually with adopting our policy, did you not quote them in your defence? Simply because you knew I would expose the misrepresentation, and cover you with confusion. Have you forgotten that Hon. Mr. Sifton, the ablest of your colleagues, settled this question in 1897 by publicly declaring to his constituents at Brandon that "*there was no longer an issue on the tariff question,*" as you had adopted ours? But I need not waste words in proving what you still have the effrontery to deny, that having denounced our protective policy for eighteen years you sold your principles and adopted our policy for the sake of obtaining and retaining power. It is not yet forgotten that in the Laurier Government tariff of 1897 you added a large increase to the tariff on goods coming from England before you proposed the pretended reduction of 12½ per cent.

You were forced to give the preference to British goods as I have shown, and have since used every means of impairing it until it is practically destroyed by your American agreement.

No one questions the long-continued efforts to obtain reciprocal trade with the United States, but when you and your colleagues spent six months with Lord Herschell at your head, who bewailed his fate by saying to Pope, his private secretary, "Is it not too bad to waste six months of one's life and get nothing but a broken leg?" When, on your return, Sir Wilfrid Laurier denounced on floor of Parliament the action of the United States and expressed the determination to abandon all such efforts, he was told by the opposition that the whole House would support him, and the standing offer of Canada was subsequently unanimously withdrawn.

Under the policy then pursued Canada obtained a position that excited the envy of the world. Her progress and prosperity was unequalled in any other country.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier publicly proclaimed that no change of the tariff would be made without being carefully considered by a commission.

Could anyone under these circumstances believe that you would not only without any mandate, but in violation of the public pledges of the Government, go down to Washington and make a secret treaty with President Taft to *revolutionise the trade between Canada and the United States?*

Your Government stood pledged to the great Unionist party in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to carry out a policy of mutual preferential trade.

When the astounding fact is now avowed that Mr. Taft is pressing upon the Senate of the United States that UNLESS this agreement is promptly ratified, *Great Britain and her great dominions will be indissolubly bound together and the* HOPES OF THE UNITED STATES DESTROYED, can you wonder that under these circumstances it is not forgotten that the Confederation of Canada was achieved in spite of your most determined efforts to prevent it, and that after it had been in successful operation for nineteen years you did your utmost to break it up, or that your leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when speaking at Boston, November 10th, 1890, said:—

"Our object is, when there is a Liberal administration at Ottawa, to offer to the United States the free entrance of our territory to all American products, whether natural or manufactured, provided the United States extend the same privilege to the products of Canada. This involves that we would offer to the American nation advantages denied to the rest of the world. This is not a question of sentiment, and for my part I am firmly convinced that the economic interests of Canada lie with this continent, and it is on the broad basis of continental freedom of trade that I place the question."

I am strengthened in the opinion that I have only discharged an imperative duty to Canada and the Empire in sending you my open letter of April, by a letter from one of the most able members of the House of Commons who was present in 1897 and since, who says:—

"After carefully perusing your admirable letter to Fielding, pray accept my warmest congratulations. Your analysis of the conditions and incidents to which he alluded in his Montreal speech is

searching and unanswerable, and your criticism exposes his record in the sinister light it most thoroughly deserves."

—Yours faithfully, CHARLES TUPPER.

P.S.—I omitted to mention that after strong pressure from me you largely increased the bounties on iron and steel. I hope you have noticed the declaration of Mr. Oliver, your colleague at Boston, a few days ago, that your present tariff is one of high protection.

C. T.

At the unveiling of the commemorative tablet on June 17, 1911, in the Westminster Palace Hotel, Sir Charles found himself so much exhausted after giving an address that he was led to say: "My speaking days are done." But another event awaited him which disappointed his fears respecting his speaking ability.

On November 14, in view of the result of the Canadian elections on September 21, the United Empire Club honoured Sir Charles with a luncheon, as he was not able to attend a dinner. The occasion was created by the return to power of the Conservative party in Canada, after having been fifteen years in opposition. This result was regarded as the confirmation of Imperialism and protected industries for Canada, both of which Sir Charles had advocated from 1874 to 1900, when he withdrew from Parliamentary life.

The following account of the banquet is taken from the *Canadian Gazette* of November 16, 1911:

"Sir Charles Tupper then paid one of his now all-too-rare visits to London to be the guest of the club at luncheon, and made a speech which, by its vigour and lucidity and patriotic fervour, happily belied the tale of years recorded against the speaker. For thirty-five minutes he spoke without a note, with more than his accustomed command of expression and rhetoric, and without a hesitating word—a feat which, we fancy, has seldom been equalled by a nonagenarian. The Duke of Marlborough, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in the last Unionist administration, presided. . . .

"There were interesting personal touches in the Duke of Marlborough's introductory speech. He recalled how, as a boy, he first saw Sir Charles Tupper at the house of his relative, Lord Lansdowne. 'I was told when I entered the room that I should see one of the greatest—if not the greatest—of Canadians, and someone whispered, "Please remember, the gentleman you will see was born the very year that the great Napoleon died." I confess, sir, that when I, a little boy, saw you, I was deeply impressed by your kindness, I was somewhat awed by your presence, and I marvelled at your versatility. Many years have passed, but I doubt whether our guest has grown any older in spirit despite the burdens he has carried in the last thirty years.' Incidentally the Duke mentioned that his knowledge of Canadian railways was confined to the Grand Trunk, though he spoke with enthusiasm of the 'granaries of the Empire' which the Canadian Pacific Railway had brought into being. He pleasantly recalled Sir Charles Tupper's defeat of that 'darling of Radicalism in Nova Scotia,' the Hon. Joseph Howe—a reminiscence to which Sir Charles Tupper gave a smiling finish when he spoke of the pleasure with which he had been instrumental in securing Mr. Howe's entrance into the Dominion Cabinet of Sir John Macdonald, and in subsequently naming him as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. . . .

"The opening note of Sir Charles Tupper's speech was naturally expressive of his personal delight at the result of the Canadian elections, and in a manner that carried conviction to his hearers he showed how inevitable a sequel this result was to the great measures of Liberal-Conservative policy with which the names of Sir John Macdonald and himself are historically associated. . . ."

This address, from any point of view, is a suitable crown to the public speaking of Sir Charles's long life. The fact that he was at the time far on in his ninety-first year lent to it an element of unusual interest.

Life in Retirement

In these memoirs certain events in the life of Sir Charles have been emphasised as illustrating his noble character and eminent statesmanship. But on no former occasion did his character and labours stand in brighter light and more splendour than when, before the United Empire Club, for thirty-five minutes he recounted and sketched the outstanding events of his life. He had for forty-four years observed the Dominion's progress, in which it had suffered no permanent arrest. The principles adopted and advocated by him from 1873 had borne fruit. His early vision had been transmitted into reality. Now, in the bright evening of his life, he looked forward to achievements for Great Britain and her dominions, such as were seen by his "sighting brain" more than forty years before for his beloved Canada. The principles which had asserted themselves in the past, crushing men obstructing their progress, would be equally effective in the future, and would do for both the Mother Country and her overseas dominions what they had already accomplished for Canada.

There remains but to chronicle the great sorrow that befell the veteran statesman in the following year. On May 13, 1912, after 66 years of wedded life, Lady Tupper was taken from him at the age of 86. Sir Charles once more made the journey across the Atlantic to take his partner "home." On May 27 he laid her to rest in St. John's Cemetery, Halifax.

Thenceforward, although the intellect remained as keen as ever, although his interest in his beloved Canada abated not one jot, it was a quiet awaiting on Sir Charles's part for the closing in of the twilight. Before the call came the horrors of the Great War had broken over the world, and to "The Mount" came grandchildren to bid their farewells on their way to the battlefields. None recognised more clearly than Sir Charles the greatness of the Allies' task, none was more confident of the ultimate outcome of the conflict.

He lived to see more than a year of the war, for it was not until October 30, 1915, that the summons came to him—a summons which meant peace and rest after a long, long life of unceasing activity for the land of his birth.

In this review of his career one thing is especially evident—his individuality was a large element in his power as a statesman. In victory and defeat alike he was strong. But while he was conscious of his personal power, he never rested the success of his undertakings in it. What he did do was to assume the right of the people to judge, and that it was his duty to instruct and guide them. If the first and second efforts failed, then, undiscouraged, he waited for a third and fourth opportunity. The unbroken wholeness and symmetrical form of the teachings and labours of his entire life are accounted for by his belief that the people was the highest court of appeal, and that essential principles must be the foundation of all good and lasting government; and that in legislation the people should be shown what was sound and what unsound, and that they were bound to cast their votes according to the demands of truth and right. He must exert whatever power he possessed in the interests of the public whose representative he happened to be. In legislating for his country, Sir Charles's motto always was: "Buy the truth and sell it not."

As a public instructor and advocate no contemporary can be compared with him. A cursory glance over his political labours is all that is necessary to make good the statement that as an instructor of the public in the political questions of the day he was peerless. Since by his age his ability for public address had been reduced, evidence abounded that he still retained his skill and power to wield a facile, vigorous pen. "The Problem of Empire," published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1907; "The National Evolution of Canada," in the *Strand* in 1909; "The Unity and Defence of the Empire," in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1909; "The Rise and Progress of Tariff Reform and

Mutual Preferential Trade of Canada with England," in *Britannia* in 1909; open letters to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. Borden and Mr. W. S. Fielding, and all his controversial writings reaching back from a year or two before his death to 1855, have distinguished Sir Charles as the political teacher among non-professional journalists. A lucid, nervous, vigorous style and his sensitively responsive memory were ever helpful in giving information and right direction to public sentiment. Whether in the Press or on the platform, his ready memory and a will-power controlled by caution and discretion, enabled him, with the expenditure of less time than that required by any other man, to reach and impress all classes of the people.

In this record of Canada's great statesman, one feature of his character stands out pre-eminently—his courageous optimism — an optimism conditioned on knowledge and valiant contention for truth, but at the same time an optimism which made full allowance for the strength and number of the forces opposed to him. It did not beget carelessness or inaction. To him success was the reward of battles intelligently and courageously fought against what he considered unsound principles and policies. He ever saw the banner of victory waving and heard the shouts of the victors. This unfailing optimism ever strengthened his heart, and in all circumstances made for him a bright future. To him defeat was not defeat; it was a mere accident to be neutralised preparatory to genuine success.

DESCENDANTS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B., P.C., AND LADY TUPPER

CHILDREN	GRANDCHILDREN	GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN
EMMA TUPPER (married Major-General Donald Roderick Cameron, C.M.G.)	Sophie Tupper Cameron (married Christian Hamilton Gray).	
	Nancie Sophia Ellis Tupper Cameron.	
	Lillie Tupper Cameron.	
	Mary Tupper Cameron (married Mr. Justice Chapman, I.C.S.)	Agatha Louisa Chapman. Nancie Chapman. Edmund Charles Tupper Chapman.
	Charles Stewart Tupper Cameron (died in infancy).	
	Frances Melita Tupper Cameron.	
	William Tupper Cameron.	
ELIZABETH STEWART TUPPER (died in infancy)		
JAMES STEWART TUPPER, K.C. (died 1915; married 1st Mary Wilson Robertson. 2nd Ada Galt)	Marie Stewart Tupper.	
	Jessie Campbell Tupper.	
	Frances Tupper.	
	Charles Stewart Tupper (married Margaret Peters Morse).	
SIR CHARLES HIBBERT TUPPER, K.C.M.G. (married Janet Macdonald)	Charles Tupper (married Myra Douglas Mary Dickey).	
	Sophie Almon Tupper (married Cecil Merritt)	Beatrice Ormond Merritt. Charles Cecil Ingersoll Merritt. William Francis Ingersoll Merritt.
	Frances Lilian Tupper.	
	Janet Miriam Grace Tupper (married Walter Glen Cuyler Holland).	
	James Macdonald Tupper.	
	Reginald Hibbert Tupper.	
	Victor Gordon Tupper.	
SOPHY ALMON TUPPER (died 1863, aged 5 years)		
WILLIAM JOHNSTON TUPPER, K.C. (married Margaret Macdonald)	Katherine Gladys Tupper.	
	Frances Amelia Tupper (died 1902).	
	Reginald Tupper (died in infancy).	
	Emma Lilian Tupper.	
	Edith Tupper.	
	Charles William Tupper.	
	Stewart Macdonald Tupper.	

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